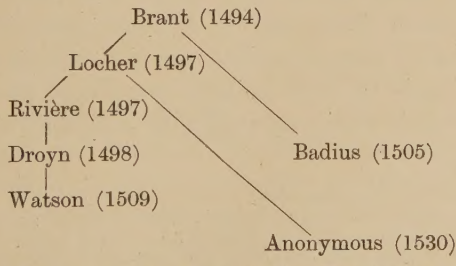
ALEXANDER BARCLAY, POET AND PREACHER.

'OUT of Laten, Frenche, and Doche into Englysshe tonge,' 'in the yere of our Lorde god M.CCCCC.VII,' Alexander Barclay translated the *Ship of Fools*, a book both notorious and unknown. In scholarship it is well remembered for the quaint fifteenth century woodcuts; and these woodcuts have usually been the limit of scholarly curiosity. For this condition the first great explanation lies in the fact that the poem is both long and dull, consisting as it does of a long catalogue of undifferentiated fools, unrelieved by poetic feeling. The second reason, however, is that the problem of its origin is both complex and difficult, since although the Barclay itself is readily accessible in Jamieson's edition of 1874 and the German in Zarncke's of 1854, the other two elements, the French and the Latin, are extremely rare[1]. And as few scholars have had the opportunity of consulting the versions in all four languages, almost all the recent studies on Barclay have necessarily treated the problem as doubtful. Without the originals, all that could be done was the problematical inference.

Actually, however, the time for inference has gone by. Fraustadt's careful study on the *Ship of Fools*[2] enables us to state definitely Barclay's mode of procedure. The genealogical tree[3] of the poem is as follows:



[1] I am indebted to Mr Wilberforce Eames of the New York Public Library for the use of the first edition of the Barclay, and to the generosity of Mr J. Pierpont Morgan for the great opportunity to consult at my leisure here in New Haven the rare Latin version of Locher and the superlatively rare French version of Droyn.

[2] F. Fraustadt, *Über das Verhältnis von Barclay's Ship of Fools zur lateinischen, französischen und deutschen Quelle*...Inaugural-Dissertation, Breslau, Druck von R. Nischkowsky, 1894. For the use of this dissertation I am indebted to the kindness of the Harvard Library.

[3] Taken from Zarncke, via Fraustadt.

Now Barclay tells us:

> But amonge diuers inuencions composed of the sayde Sebastian brant I haue noted one named ye Shyp of Foles moche expedient and necessary to the redar which the sayd Sebastian composed in doche langage. And after hym one called James Locher his Disciple translated the same into Laten to the understondinge of al Christen nacions where Laten is spoken. Than another (whose name to me is unknowen) translated the same into Frenche. I haue ouersene the fyrst Inuention in Doche and after that the two translations in Laten and Frenche whiche in blaminge the disordred lyfe of men of our tyme agreeth in sentence[1].

But as the Droyn version has the name of the translator, 'Et finallement translatee de rime en prose auecques aulcunes additions nouuelles par maistre iehan droyn bachelier es loix et en deccret,' the French version referred to by Barclay is that of Rivière. We are concerned then merely with a comparison between the Brant, Locher and Rivière.

This comparison is not so difficult as would first appear. The Brant has 7034 verses, the Locher 5672, the Rivière 17133, and the Barclay 14034[2]. As the tendency of all translators, and in particular of Barclay himself, is toward expansion, *a priori* then the Rivière is not the immediate original. Of the two remaining, the Brant and the Locher, owing to their wide divergence, it is easy to judge. Written in dialect, the octosyllabic couplets of Brant are vivacious and colloquial; the chapters, although the normal length is thirty-four lines, yet have considerable variance; the allusions, as would be natural in a work localized by its dialect, are familiar, drawn largely from the Bible and the Apocrypha. Since the scheme proved unexpectedly popular—there were three additional impressions that same year—the obvious course was to present it free from dialectic limitations for a European audience. With Brant's concurrence[3], and under his direction[4], Jacob Locher adapted the poem (traducta), as Barclay phrases it, 'to the understondinge of al Christen nacions where Laten is spoken.' But this joint production is far from being a translation from the German. In the first place, it is obviously composed with the printed page in mind.

[1] Jamieson, Vol. I, p. 9.

[2] This numeration from Fraustadt.

[3]
> Nuper ego stultos vulgari carmine scripsi:
> Est satis hic noster notus ubique labor.
> Narragonum quando nobis fabricata carina est:
> Theutonico qualem struximus eloquio.
> Quam deinde ut volui contexere, forte latino
> Scommate pro doctis: principiumque dedi:
> Occurrere mihi tam crebra negotia passim:
> Quae versu exorsum, detinuere pedem.
> Quo fit, ut incaeptum tam dignum opus, ipse reliqui:
> Brant: Exhortatio ad Jacobum Philomusum.

[4] The title reads: per Iacobum Locher,...in latinum traducta eloquium: et per Sebastianum Brant: denuo seduloque revisa.

At the top of the page are four lines as a motto, then the woodcut, and then four lines at the bottom; the following page has thirty lines. Consequently the great majority of the Locher chapters are limited to thirty-four lines, and in the exceptions to multiples of thirty with four added, sixty-four, ninety-four, etc. This Procrustean bed necessarily alters the original. For example, the German chapter 'Of disordered love' is cut down from ninety-four to the normal thirty-four lines. To do this he omits the illustrations from the stories of Circe, Calypso, Dido, Medea, Tereus, Nessus, Scylla, Hyacinthus, Leander, Mars, Procris, Sappho, Siraen, Cyclops and Pan, Leucothoe, Myrrha and Adonis, Byblis, Danae, Nyctimine, Echo, Thisbe, Atalanta, David and Bathseba, Samson and Dalilah, Amon, Joseph, Bellerophon, the medieval story of Vergil in the tower, and Ovid. From the German he takes allusions to the Phaedra story, Pasiphae, and Messalina, and expands the Troy story. The mass of his chapter is devoted to Antony and Cleopatra. In general, he changes the stress from biblical to classical characters. Consequently to speak of Locher's work as a translation is scarcely accurate; founded upon the German, and in most cases preserving the ideas and illustrations of the German, it is yet an independent work, on the same subjects and with the same illustrations. The colloquial vivacity has been crushed into sonorous Latin. But it is this poem which had the great effect upon the literature of Western Europe. Consequently while it is Brant in one sense, yet the *Ship of Fools* shows not so much the literary relation between England and Germany, as the wide range of humanistic literature.

This point, once conceded, has a direct bearing upon Barclay because it is not Brant but Locher whom he imitates—imitates avowedly. The confusion which has arisen is due to the fact that Jamieson did not reprint the first edition. There on the title-page credit is given to Locher, and in the second, the 1570 edition, it reads 'è Latino sermone in nostrum vulgarem versa.' Moreover the Latin versions of the various prefaces and chapters immediately precede the English, as Barclay points out—a sentence which has no meaning in the Jamieson edition —'And to the extent yt this my laboure may be the more pleasaunt unto lettred men, I haue adioyned unto the same ye verses of my Actour with dyuerse concordaunces of the Bybyll to fortyfy my wrytynge by the same, and also to stop the enuyous mouthes (If any shuche shal be) of them that by malyce shall barke ayenst this my besynes.' Consequently he is quite careful to differentiate his own envoys, 'Envoy of Barklay to the Foles,' from those he translates from Locher,

'Envoy of the Actour.' Moreover he follows the Latin rather than the German. As a striking example of this, the German alludes to the story of Jonah and the inhabitants of Nineveh; Locher confuses it with inhabitants of the Nile valley, with the result that Barclay comments:

> The rightwyse god also dyd sore chastyce
> The Nilicolyans and them utterly destroy[1].

Again, the German illustrates by Diogenes; Locher refers to him only as 'ille cynicus.' Here Barclay mistakes 'cynicus' for a proper name:

> Wherfore cynicus a man of great wysdome[2].

These illustrations might be multiplied *ad infinitum*, showing that the Locher is the basis of Barclay's translation.

But the Locher is only the basis of Barclay's translation. The fact that his readers had the verses of his 'Actour' before their eyes apparently made him feel free to add whatsoever additional matter he saw fit. Rarely he reverts to the German original. Often, however, he adopts the amplification of the French. For example, from the same chapter of 'Disordered Love,' the Latin dismisses the Antony and Cleopatra story in four lines. The details, filling thirty lines in the English, are taken from Rivière. And he feels quite at liberty to add his own material. The 'Envoy of the Actour,' Vol. I, p. 174, has the first verse fairly literally taken, as is indicated; the second, however, is original, without any indication. The same is true, to a still more confusing degree, in the Prologue. Here he translates for four pages from Locher, and then without any indication he adds two pages in the first person and using his own name. With the Latin, it would be perfectly clear; without the Latin, it credits him with many of Locher's opinions on satire. The same is true of the Argument. It opens:

> Here after followeth the Boke named the Shyp of Foles of the world: translated out of Laten, French and Doche into Englysse in the Colege of saynt Mary Otery By me Alexander Barclay...

and without any indication the rest of the page is taken from Locher. Naturally readers of the Jamieson have seen a personal reference in such sentences as:

> For I have only drawn into our moder tunge, in rude language the sentences of the verses as nere as the parcyte of my wit wyl suffer me, some tyme addynge, somtyme detractinge and takinge away suche thinges as semeth me necessary and superflue. Wherfore I desyre of you reders pardon of my presumptuous audacite trustynge that ye shall holde me excused if ye consyder ye scarsnes of my wyt and

[1] Jamieson, Vol. I, p. 135.
[2] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 131.

my unexpert youthe. I haue in many places ouerpassed dyuers poetical digressions and obscurenes of Fables and haue concluded my worke in rude langage as shal apere in my translacion[1].

Actually, it is but a free version from the Latin. And the next sentence,

> But the speciyl cawse that mouethe me to this besynes is to auoyde the execrable inconuenyences of ydilnes...and to the utter derision of obstynate men delitynge them in folyes and mysgouernance[2],

is taken from the French. The following sentences are rather vaguely suggested by Rivière, and the end is original. Thus the Argument is not a bad epitome of the whole. The basis is the version of Locher, which was printed immediately before, but to it Barclay felt at liberty to add whatever he either found in other versions or invented.

This tedious analysis, which might yet be extended to every chapter and every part, has served its purpose if it has shown that Barclay himself has told us exactly what he did. It is 'out of Laten, Frenche, and Doche,' in the order named. Moreover when he takes a chapter, 'Of Folys that ar ouer worldly,' from Gaguin, published in the Badius translation (1505), he carefully notes in the margin that it is by Gaguin. It seems unfair that every critic should comment upon this borrowing without also acknowledging that we know it from Barclay himself. He is so scrupulous that when he makes a distinction in the envoys between 'Envoy of Barklay the Translator,' 'Envoy of the Actour' (Locher), and 'Envoy of the Translator,' I question whether that envoy may not be taken from Badius. It is a problem easy of solution if one might but find a copy of the Badius. This same attitude toward his authors, one of frank acknowledgement of his debt, is shown also in the *Mirror of Good Manners*. There also the Latin runs in parallel columns, and the relationship is stated:

> But where as mine Auctour Dominike Mancin
> In his Latin treatise....

In the third poetic work, the 'Eclogues,' there is the same frankness:

> First of this thing I will thou be certayne,
> That fiue Egloges this whole treatise doth holde,
> To imitation of other Poetes olde.

[1] Sensus enim duntaxat notasque vernaculi carminis simplici numero latine transtulimus. Quapropter et veniam praesumptae nostrae audatiae ab omnibus lectoribus nos consecuturos confidimus si prius ingenii nostri mediocritatem: et teneros lanuginis annos considerauerint. Poeticas nempe egressiones: et fabulosam obscuritatem studiose praeterii· nudisque et natiuis verborum structuris: facilique sententiarum iunctura: opus absolui. Locher, 1497.

[2] Pour euiter les dommageables et importables ennuytez de oysiuetz...et (a la) confusion derisoire et derision confuse des fols mondains onstinez. Quoted by Fraustadt.

The title reads: 'Certayne Egloges of Alexander Barclay Priest, Whereof the first three conteyne the miseryes of Courtiers and Courtes of all princes in generall, Gathered out of a booke named in Latin, *Miseriae Curialium*, compiled by Eneas Siluius Poet and Oratour.' In the *Eclogues* he stresses the fact of his indebtedness:

> So writeth Pius (whom some Eneas call)[1].
>
> But mate Coridon, I tell thee before
> That what I shall say or yet haue close in store:
> Of diuers aucthours I learned of Codrus,
> And he it learned of Shepherde Siluius[2].
>
> These be the wordes of Shepherde Stiuius (*sic*)
> Which after was pope, and called was Pius[3].
>
> No, but harke man what sayth the good pope Siluius
> Lo, this same is he which by his bad councell
> Causeth our prince to be to us to fell.
> This same is he which rayseth deme and tare,
> This same is he which statned men on rackes,
> This same is he which causeth all this warre,
> This same is he which all our wealth doth marre.
> This is of Commons the very deadly mall,
> Which with these charges thus doth oppresse us all[4].

In these works, then, he has made abundant acknowledgement of his sources.

The same condition does not hold with the fourth and fifth eclogue which are free paraphrases of Mantuan's fifth and sixth, with part of the seventh[5]. Aside from the general statement in the Prologue, after mentioning Theocritus and Vergil,

> And in like maner nowe lately in our dayes
> Hath other Poetes attempted the same wayes:
> As the most famous Baptist Mantuan
> The best of that sort since Poetes first began,

there is nothing to indicate his indebtedness. This variance from his custom is suggestive when the irregularity of the publication is considered. The first three eclogues, those advowedly taken from Aeneas Sylvius, appeared with a prologue stating that there were ten eclogues. Then the fourth and fifth appeared separately. All these early editions are undated. The first collected edition is that of Cawood, 1570, in

[1] *Certayne Egloges* by Alexander Barclay, 1570, Spenser Society, 1885, p. 11.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 20.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 7.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 7, '...& ille est, inquient, qui principem nostrum seducit, qui bellum suadet, qui uectigalia auget, qui onera nobis importabilia cumulare facit, & etiam qui verso pollice quos uult ex nobis occidit, quem dii deaeque omnes perdant, ne sub eius tyrannide diutius simus.' Aeneae Sylvii Pii Opera, Basileae, MDLXXI, p. 723.
[5] *The Eclogues of Mantuan* have been published with an excellent preface by Professor W. P. Mustard, Baltimore, 1911.

which the line in the prologue is corrected to read five. Yet the last two must have been written at the same time as the first three, since the account of the delayed composition is borrowed from the prologue of Mantuan. There may have been an edition now unknown in which due acknowledgement was made—an hypothesis which would explain Bale's note 'ex Mantuano.' In any case the omission of acknowledgement is noteworthy.

In the case of the *Eclogues*, however, whatever doubt there may be as to the source, the authorship is announced in the title-pages. This is not the case with the anonymous translation from Gringoire, *The Castell of Labour*, which offers a problem compared to which the riddle of the *Eclogues* is easy of solution. *Le Chasteau de Labour* was printed in October, 1499[1]. Although published anonymously, the author's name is given in an anagram. Four more editions appeared before the end of 1500. The next edition, Paris, March 31st, 1500–1, according to the title-page, adds 'aucunes ballades et aultres addicions nouellement composees.' The ballades are not extant; the 'other additions' consist in an interpolation regarding the education of the hero, which is omitted in the English version. Of this English poem there were four editions, all undated except that of Wynkyn de Worde, 1506. This then gives the possible limits of composition, 1499–1506. As one of the editions was published in Paris by Antoine Vérard, and as its type agrees with two published by him in May and June 1503, the probability is strong that that is its approximate date. The omission of the interpolation argues, not so much taste on the part of the translator as Pollard suggests, as that it was taken from the earlier French text and that therefore it was made near the beginning of the century. This question of date becomes important as bearing upon the question of authorship. There are two candidates, both supported impartially by the *Dictionary of National Biography*. The first is John Alcock, Bishop of Ely, who died 1501. He is cited as author in Cooper's *Athenae Cantabrigienses*[2], but without authority and with the obvious

[1] These bibliographical details are taken from Pollard's edition printed for the members of the Roxburghe Club, 1905. Since it is rather rare—I was unable to find a copy in this country—I have less hesitation in transcribing the facts.

[2] Cooper's *Athenae Cantab.*, Vol. I, p. 3. Warton (Vol. II, p. 425, note d), 'Bishop Alcock's Castel of Laboure was translated into English from a French poem by Octavien de Saint-Gelais...viz. "Le Chasteau de Labour en rime françoise, auquel est contenu l'adresse de riches et chemin de pauvreté," par Octavien de S.-Gelais, etc., Paris, Gallyot du Pré, 1536, 16mo.' Warton was misled by the fact that 'Niceron et d'après lui les rédacteurs du catal. de la Bibliotèque du roi, ainsi que l'auteur de la Bibliographie instructive' (Brunet) wrongly attribute to Saint-Gelais the poem of Gringoire. Brunet notes an edition with the same title and same publisher in 1532, but anonymous. There is but one French poem and one English translation, not, as Warton implies, two of each.

misprint, 1536. The early datation makes his authorship not impossible. The claim of Alexander Barclay, however, first made by Bale, is accepted almost universally. Pollard's attitude[1]—'The attribution of the translation to him rests on the statement of Bale, which there is no reason to doubt'—expresses the consensus of scholarship, since Bale is followed by Dempster, Pitts, Wood, Warton, the *Biographia Britannica*, Herbert Ames and Dibdin, by Ward in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, and by the last edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. But the doubt arises from the implication of his own words. In the dedication of the *Ship of Fools*, 'translated the yere of our Lorde god M.ccccc.viii,' he says: 'Opus igitur tue paternitati dedicavi: meorum primicias laborum qui in lucem eruperunt'—a statement that if he were the author of a poem which had just gone through four editions would be a gratuitous falsehood, unexplainable by any lapse of memory. On the other hand, Bale's method in compiling his list is seen in his autograph notebook[2], namely taking lists which he had gotten from 'Nicolaus Brigam et alii,' 'ex officina Roberti Toye,' 'Ex Museo Ioannis Alen,' and 'ex hospitis domo Dublinie,' and striking out apparent duplicates. That Barclay was the author of the *Castell of Labour* appears in but one of these lists. The uncritical nature of the process is shown by the fact that in the final result the *Eclogues* appear four times as four separate works. Therefore at the last analysis, in opposition to Barclay's own statement, this attribution rests upon the unsupported authority of John Allen, of whom we know nothing but that twice he is labelled 'a painter.' Nor is this opinion justified by internal evidence. The style is thus characterized by Pollard[3]: 'The modern reader who expects to find all the lines of a stanza of equal metrical length, or of different lengths arranged in a fixed order, may look askance at the suggestion that Barclay normally uses lines of four accents, but mixes with them (especially towards the beginning of his poem) others of a slower movement with five....I believe that he accepted these alternatives as a beauty, and one which should be imitated.' This position is impossible in regard to the *Ship of Fools*, where with a slight shifting of the stress the lines are all decasyllabic[4]. Yet the one must have followed the other almost immediately. And the author of the *Castell of Labour* is both less

[1] Pollard, Roxburghe Club edition, p. xxxvii.
[2] *Index Britanniae Scriptorum*, Oxford, 1902.
[3] Pollard, *ibid.*, p. xl.
[4] This is easily seen by comparing the chapter in the *Ship of Fools*, 'Of Folys that ar ouer worldly' where he is consciously using octosyllabics.

egotistic than is Barclay and follows his text more closely. Consequently I feel justified in denying his authorship.

With this canon of his poems before us, it is possible to discuss his use of material. In the first place the basis of the poem is an avowed foreign original, yet so freely handled that actual translation is but a fraction of the whole. In the worst case this additional matter is merely dilution. Such, for example, is his rendering of the line of Mancinus[1],

Nil melius Latiis portat mercator ab oris,

into

No merchaundise better in Martes mayst thou finde
Then this little Booke within it doth conteyne,
No better thinge bringeth the marchaunt out of Inde,
From Damas or Turkie, from Damiate or Spaynge,
From costes of Italy, from Naples or Almaygne.
In all other Nations most forayne, far and straunge,
Can man finde no better marchaundise nor chaunge.

Normally, however, it is not simple expansion. The fact that, as he says, 'autoris carmina cum meis vulgaribus rithmicis una alternatim coniunxi[2],' made him feel at liberty to drive the point home by local allusions, such as remarks about Croydon, Huntingdon, Cist, Cambridge, or comments on various people and illustrations from contemporary literature:

for why my wyll is gode
Men to induce unto vertue and goodnes,
I wryte no Iest ne tale of Robyn hode,
Nor sawe no sparcles ne sede of vyciousnes.
Wyse men loue vertue, wylde people wantones,
It longeth nat to my scyence nor cunnynge
For Phylyp the Sparowe the (Dirige) to synge .

Or he may enlarge the point in gnomic antithetic phrases:

What difference betweene a great thiefe and a small,
Forsooth no more but this to speake I dare be bolde,
The great sitteth on benche in costly furres of pall,
The small thiefe at barre standeth trembling for colde,
The great thieves are laded with great chaynes of golde,
The small thiefe with yron chayned from all refuge,
The small thiefe is iuged, oft time the great is Judge[4].

Naturally this stylistic peculiarity allows him to work in a large number of proverbs—a feature that for some reason seems to be counted unto him for righteousness. The effect of such treatment of his material is to make the poems read like original compositions.

[1] *Mirror of Goode Manners*, Spenser Society, No. 38, p. 2.
[2] *Ship of Fools*, Jamieson, Vol. I, p. cxv.
[3] *Ship of Fools*, Jamieson, Vol. I, p. 303.
[4] *Mirror of Goode Manners*, *ibid.*, p. 34.

And therein lies his art. He is not a poet but a preacher, taking and adapting to his audience whatever he thinks may improve their morals. Thus his works are no more satires than a sermon is a satire. These are sermons versified. It was suggested to him that he modernize a *Confession of Lovers* (Gower's *Confessio Amantis*?), whereupon he produced the *Mirror of Goode Manners*, which

> Much briefly conteyneth foure vertues cardinal,
> In right pleasant processe, plaine and commodious,
> With light fote of meter, and stile heroicall,
> Rude people to infourme in language maternall,
> To whose understanding maydens of tender age,
> And rude little children shall find easy passage[1].

Consequently we find him with the same moral impulse,

> Exhorting and praying the dwellers of Englande,
> This new and small treatise to reade and understande[2].

It is with the same reformatory spirit that he versifies the querulous Latin prose epistle of Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini. There is little pretence of a literary interest.

> But if that any would nowe to me obiect
> That this my labour shall be of small effect,
> And to the Reader not greatly profitable,
> And by that maner as vayne and reprouable,...
> If any suche reade my treatise to the ende
> He shall well preceyue, if that he thereto intende,
> That it conteyneth both laudes of vertue,
> And man infourmeth misliuing to eschue,
> With diuers bourdes and sentences morall,
> Closed in shadowe of speeches pastorall...[3].

His reward is stated to be

> The glorious sight of God my sauiour,
> Whiche is chiefe shepheard and head of other all,
> To him for succour in this my worke I call,
> And not on Clio nor olde Melpomene,
> My hope is fixed of him ayded to be
> For to accomplishe my purpose and entent
> To laude and pleasour of God omnipotent,
> And to the profite, the pleasour and the mede,
> Of all them which shall this treatise here and rede[4].

Naturally, therefore, he disdains the fading laurels of poetry.

> No name I chalenge of Poete laureate....
> Then who would ascribe, except he were a foole,
> The pleasaunt laurer unto the mourning cowle[5].

[1] *Mirror of Goode Manners.* [2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Certayne Egloges*, Prologue.
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] *Ibid.* Of course the 'Poete laureate' is the academic degree.

But if this be honestly his point of view, the question at once arises why he should select as a vehicle for the translation from a prose letter the pastoral eclogue, the most artificial of all poetic forms. The usual explanation given is that, along with the substance of the last two eclogues, the form, and the form alone, of the first three are borrowed from Mantuan. While this is partly true, the main impulse seems to have been the French poem, *Le débat du Seigneur de court et du Seigneur des champs*, by Octovien de Saint-Gelays, bishop of Angoulême. This is one of the six small poems preceding *La Chasse et le Départ d'Amours*, published in Paris by Vérard, 1509. In this Saint-Gelays, in a debate between the courtier and the countryman, also versifies the prose tract of Aeneas Sylvius. Consequently Barclay, when in his turn he wished to popularize the Pope's complaints, naturally followed episcopal precedent. The content, however, seems to be taken directly from the Latin[1]. He is even more detailed, in his desire to adapt it to English conditions. Thus Barclay's *Eclogues*, though read to-day for their realistic descriptions of Renaissance manners, were written from a religious standpoint, following the example of a pope and in imitation of a bishop. Not literature, but morality.

And he is not only a preacher, but in the dawn of the Renaissance a medieval preacher. In the floodtime of humanism he tells us:

> There is yet in prudence another fault and crime,
> And that is, when people agaynst good reason
> Wasteth and spendeth in vayne study longe time,
> Searching things exceeding their dull discretion,
> For some thinges harde be in inquisition,
> Requiring great study, long time and respite,
> Yet graunte they no profite, no pleasure nor delight[2].

In the age of Copernicus, he asks

> What profiteth it man to search busily
> The courses of the stars hye in the firmament.
> What helpeth this study, here is time mispent;

and in the age of Columbus,

> Whereto dost thou study to purchase or obtayne
> The science of artes or craftes innumerable.
> Or to recount the countries and landes variable
> Over all the worlde, where both the lande and water
> Had their first beginning and situation.

[1] I speak with diffidence here as I have been unable to locate the book in America. I know it only through the thesis of the Abbé H. J. Molinier, *Octovien de Saint-Gelays*, Rodez, 1910.

[2] *Mirror of Goode Manners, ibid.*, Prudence. Cf. also the chapter in the *Ship of Fools*, 'Of Unprofitable Study,' Jamieson, Vol. I, p. 142.

His attitude toward women, likewise, is typically medieval—they are unstable and changeable. As his attitude, so are his verse-forms of the age before. The rhyme royal is used in the *Ship of Fools*, the heroic couplet for the *Eclogues*, couplets of sixes in the *Mirror of Good Manners*. His *Balade of the translator* is in eight-line stanzas rhyming ababbcbc, and the panegyric to Henry VIII, which he substitutes for Locher's on Maximilian, consists of forty lines in this same stanza form with but three rhymes throughout and a refrain. Thus writing in 'the yere of our Lorde god MDCCCCVIII,' he remains almost untouched by the influences around him.

Almost untouched, because no man can be born out of his century. The Renaissance breaks through in Barclay in his craving for personal expression—in his 'I writ large.'

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SWIFT'S 'TALE OF A TUB'

In 1704 there was published a volume containing (1) *A Tale of a Tub,* (2) *The Battle of the Books,* (3) *A Discourse concerning the Mechanical Operation of the Spirit.* The volume was anonymous and none of the three works had been printed before[1].

It has never been seriously disputed that Swift wrote all three, and it has been recognised that the larger part of them (or at least of the first two) had been written some time before they were published. But until recently no attempt has been made to investigate the question of date thoroughly. In 1911 Dr Hermann Hofmann published at Leipsic a thesis entitled *Swift's Tale of a Tub,* in which he came to the following conclusions (pp. 53—4):

'Das Tonnenmärchen ist weder 1697 noch auch zu gleicher Zeit zusammenhängend entstanden. Die Abfassung des 1. Teils der Allegorie (Absch. 2, 4, 6) fällt in frühere Jahre. Er stellt einen Beitrag zur "Popish Controversy" dar und ist in Dublin während des Ausgangs von Swift's Studienzeit (1687/88) verfasst worden. Swift hat dann dieses Stück liegen lassen und erst um 1700 eine Art Fortsetzung dazu geschrieben, die History of Martin, die die Handlung in derselben Form der Darstellung weiter führt. Diese Fortsetzung ist Fragment geblieben. Sie wurde ersetzt durch den 1703 entstandenen 2. Teil der Allegorie (Abschnitt 8, 11). Während aber die History of Martin sich an das früher entstandene Stück organisch anfügte, bildet dieser 2. Teil eine nur unvollkommene Fortsetzung davon, dem Inhalte wie auch der Form nach. Die ersten 3 Abschnitte der Allegorie sind voll Humor und die Darlegung folgt ruhig, ohne alle Heftigkeit, der geschichtlichen Entwicklung. Die beiden letzten Abschnitte dagegen sind mit unbändiger Leidenschaft und Satire erfüllt, die Handlung ist auf ein Minimum zurückgedrängt. Eine

[1] At the end of all modern editions of *A Tale of a Tub* there is also printed *The History of Martin.* This was first published in 1720. (See below, Section II of this paper.)

Erklärung ist nicht schwer. Bei jenem ersten Teil handelte es sich eben 1703 für Swift nur noch um die endgültige Darstellung einer der Vergangenheit angehörigen Bewegung, die ohne Gefahr vorübergegangen war. Der zweite Teil dagegen ist gegen eine Bewegung der Dissenter gerichtet, in der er noch mitten inne stand, und auf die seine Schrift hemmend mit einwirken sollte. Daher die oft getadelte Schärfe seiner Satire.

Ausserdem entstanden 1702/03 die "Digressions," die sich gegen soziale, politische, literarische und sonstige Schäden der Zeit wenden, und die als die Frucht von Swifts eigner, scharfer Beobachtung während seiner verschiedenen Aufenthalte in London betrachtet werden können.'

The publication of the following notes has been suggested by the appearance of Dr Hofmann's work.

I.

The Origin of the Allegory.

(*a*) *John Sharp's Sermons.*

The suggestion that Swift borrowed the allegory of the three brothers in *A Tale of a Tub* from one of John Sharp's sermons seems first to have been made in a letter signed 'Indagator' which appeared in the *Protestant Advocate* for May 1814, and was reprinted in the *Gentleman's Magazine* (1814, Vol. II, pp. 20—22).

The suggestion has been repeated by the late Professor Churton Collins in his *Jonathan Swift* (1893), p. 47, with considerable amplification: by Mr Temple Scott in his edition of Swift's *Prose Works* (Vol. I, p. xcvi): and more recently by Dr Hermann Hofmann in his dissertation referred to above: but only Hofmann makes any serious use of it.

The sermon in question was delivered on May 9, 1686, at St Giles's Church, London[1], but was not printed until 1735[2]. It was one of a series preached at a time of controversy on the relative merits of the Roman and English Churches[3]. The title runs:

'Sermon VI. A discussion of the question which the Roman-catholics much insist upon with the protestants, viz. In which of the different communions in Christendom, the only true church of Christ is to be found.

[1] *Life of John Sharp*, Vol. I, pp. 70 ff.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 71: and *The Works of...John Sharp*...3rd edition...London, 1754. Vol. 7: 'To the Reader.'

[3] Burnet, *History of My Own Times*, ed. 1815, Vol. II, pp. 345 ff.

With a refutation of a certain popish argument handed about in M.S. in 1686.'

Towards the end (p. 106 of ed. 1748) Sharp quotes the argument from a 'little manuscript paper,' and proceeds to answer it. In the course of his reply he says:

> The argument is, That if we cannot shew a visible church distinct from the Roman, that hath in all times, from the beginning, opposed the doctrines and practices of the present church of Rome, then it will undeniably follow, that the present church of Rome is the only visible church.
>
> Why now, methinks, this is just such an argument as this:
>
> A father bequeaths a large estate among his children, and their children after them. They do for some generations quietly and peaceably enjoy their several shares, without disturbance from each other. At last, one branch of this family (and not of the eldest house neither) starts up, and being of greater power than the rest, and having got some of the same family to join with him, very impudently challengeth the whole estate to himself, and those that adhere to him; and would dispossess all the rest of the descendants, accounting them no better than bastards, though they be far more in number than his own party, and have a far greater share in the inheritance. Upon this they contest their own right against him, alledging their father's will and testament, and their long possession, and that they are lawfully descended from their first common ancestor.
>
> But this gentleman, who would lord it over his brethren, offers this irrefragable argument for the justice of his claim. If, says he, you deny me and my adherents to be the sole proprietors of this estate, then it lies upon you to shew, That ever since the death of our progenitor, who left us this estate, there hath appeared some of the family who have always opposed my claim to this estate. But *that* you cannot shew; and therefore I have an undoubted claim to the whole estate: I am lord of the whole inheritance.
>
> I do appeal to any man living, whether this plea would pass in any court of judicature; nay, whether any private man, tho' never so unlearned, can believe that this insolent pretender doth offer any fair reason for the disseising the coheirs of their inheritance. And yet this is just the argument with which those learned gentlemen would persuade us to give up our birthright, to depart from that share of the inheritance we have in the catholic church.
>
> Well, but what will the coheirs that are concerned say to this argument? Why there are three things so obvious to be said to it, that if the persons concerned have not the wit to hit upon them, they are fit to come under the custody and guardianship of this pretended heir-general. May they not say to this gentleman that makes so universal a claim,—Sir, your claim was not so early as the death of our forefather, who left us this joint inheritance. Your ancestors and ours lived a great while peaceably together, without any clashing about this estate; and we were suffered for some ages to enjoy our own right, without any molestation from you or those you derive from: And the case being so, there was no need of opposing your pretences, because you made none. But then, (which is the second thing) when you did set up for this principality, and wheedled some of our family, and forced others to join with you, you know you were presently opposed by others of our family, who would not so easily part from their rights. You know, that as soon as ever you made your claim, there were some that stoutly declared against it, tho' they had not power, and strength, and interest enough in the world to stem the torrent of your ambition.
>
> But then thirdly, may they say; supposing it was not so; supposing you had met with no rub in your pretences (which yet you know you did); supposing our family were not so suddenly aware of the mischief that would come upon them from those your usurpations, as to make a present opposition; doth now it follow, that because no opposition was just then made to your pretences, that therefore your pretensions to the whole estate are justifiable? No, we can prove they are not

so; for it is plain by the Testament, by the settlement of our common father, that we have as much a right to our parts in this estate as you have, or as your ancestors ever had. Tell not us, that you were not at first, or that you were not always, opposed in your claim: But tell us by what right or justice you can pretend to be the sole lord of this inheritance. Let the will of our common parent be produced, and that will plainly shew, that we have as much a share in this estate as you have[1].

This allegory is so pat to our business, and the application of it so easy to our present case, that I think I should injure the most vulgar understanding, if I should suspect his ability to make that use of it which I intend.

'Indagator' was satisfied with pointing out the similarity between this allegory and that of Swift. Churton Collins went further: 'The sermon referred to is one of fourteen [fifteen] which are devoted to an elaborate exposure of the errors and corruptions of the Church of Rome, furnishing indeed, even to minute details, the whole text for Swift's satire, which follows Sharp's commentary step by step.' But he made no attempt to illustrate his statement, and in fact it has no foundation. As Hofmann says, 'Die Ähnlichkeiten, die sich ja nicht leugnen lassen, sind rein äusserliche und erklären sich vollkommen dadurch, dass eben Swift und Sharp die "abuses and corruptions" der römischen Kirche aufdecken wollen mit dem von vornherein feststehenden Zweck, durch diese Darlegung der von den Katholiken drohenden Gefahr entgegenzuwirken. Das geschieht hier mit dem ruhigen Ernste eines Predigers, dort mit der Energie eines leidenschaftlichen Satirikers. Dabei mussten sie natürlich auf dieselben Übelstände zu reden kommen. Weiter geht die Übereinstimmung nicht[2].'

Moreover the sermons were not printed until 31 years after *A Tale of a Tub* was published. Unless Swift heard the sermons, it is most unlikely that he could have obtained such accurate reports of them as to be able to follow them 'step by step' and 'in minute details.' In May 1686 he was in Ireland, and the sermons were preached in London.

But the allegory remains. The sermon in which it occurred was brought to the notice of James II, who instructed the Bishop of London (Compton) to suspend Sharp. Compton refused: and the dispute roused a great deal of public interest[3]. It was the reply to the 'little manuscript paper' which gave offence, and especially the allegory[4].

One of Swift's fellow students at Trinity College, Dublin, was

[1] Dryden replies to this argument in *The Hind and the Panther* (II, ll. 373 ff.), published in April 1687. Cf. *Religio Laici*, ll. 388—93.

[2] *Op. cit.* p. 22.

[3] Macaulay, *Hist. Eng.*, Chap. VI.

[4] *Life of Sharp*, I, pp. 73—4.

named Waring. Writing in 1755 Deane Swift, in *An Essay upon the Life, Writings, and Character of Dr Jonathan Swift* said:

> Mr WARREN, the *chamber fellow* of Dr SWIFT in the university of *Dublin*, and a gentleman of undoubted veracity, (whose sister had made some very considerable impressions upon the Doctor's heart in the days of his youth) assured a relation of mine, whom he courted for a wife about eight or nine and forty years ago, that he saw *The Tale of a Tub* in the hand-writing of Dr SWIFT, when the Doctor was but nineteen years old; but what corrections or improvements it might have received before its publication in the year 1697, he could by no means declare. (p. 31.)

'Mr Warren' is, of course, Waring.

Now Swift was nineteen years old in 1686. If, then, it can be shown that there is such likeness between Sharp's allegory and Swift's as to make borrowing seem likely, Deane Swift's story receives strong confirmation, and we must admit that *A Tale of a Tub* was very probably begun while Swift was still at Trinity College.

This is Hofmann's view, though not in his words.

The question is much complicated by other considerations, but for the moment we may ignore them. A comparison of the two allegories shows that the resemblance is very slight. It is practically confined to this: that both Sharp and Swift illustrate the disputes between the Churches of Rome and England by a comparison with the disputes of heirs to an estate, and in both cases there is reference to a will.

In Swift the heirs are three, in Sharp their number is not stated: in Swift they are sons, in Sharp they are descendants removed by 'some generations': in Swift the main part of the allegory concerns the coats which the father gives his sons, in Sharp there is nothing corresponding: and there is nothing in Swift corresponding to the argument of the 'insolent pretender' in Sharp. In fact there is nothing in common but the ancestor, the descendants, and the will.

So much of Sharp's sermon might have reached Swift and might have remained in his mind for years before he used it. But it is plain enough that Swift might have thought of the father, sons, and will for himself. Nothing is commoner in the Christian religion than a reference to the Fatherhood of God.

Deane Swift's statement will be dealt with further in Section III of this paper.

It should be added that Sharp may possibly have taken a hint for his allegory from the story dealt with in the next section.

(*b*) *The Story of the Three Rings.*

The story of the three rings exists in several different forms. In general the outline is as follows: a father gives or bequeaths a ring to each of his three sons, and tells each that his ring is the only genuine one. The owner of the genuine ring is to be the heir to the father's estate. The rings are so similar that it is impossible to distinguish between them.

At this point the stories divide into two classes. In one class the sons are never able to decide which is the genuine ring, in the other the true ring is known by its power to heal the sick, or by some other virtue which it exhibits. In either case the father is God, and the three rings represent the Jewish, Christian, and Mohammedan religions. The purpose, details, and setting of the stories vary according to the different purposes of the writers who tell them[1].

Forms of the story appear in Boccaccio's *Decameron*, Day 1, Tale 3[2]: in the *Gesta Romanorum*[3]: and (after Swift's time) in Lessing's *Nathan der Weise*. Swift may well have read it in either the first or the second of these.

The likeness of the story to the allegory in the *Tale* was first noticed by the writer who adapted the *Tale* in French under the title *Les Trois Justaucorps, Conte Bleu, Tiré de l'Anglois du Reverend Mr. Jonathan Swif* [sic],...*A Dublin, MD. CC.XXI.* At the end of his work he printed a poem entitled *Les Trois Anneaux.* In the *Avertissement* he writes 'On a ajouté *les trois Anneaux,* qui y sont citez dès la première page. C'est une Nouvelle tirée de *Bocace,* qu'on ne sera point fâché de trouver à la suite de ce Conte.' At p. 1 he writes 'Il y eut jadis, dans un certain coin de l'Empire Romain, un bon Père de Famille qui avait trois Garçons, que sa Femme lui avoit mis au Monde d'une seule couche. Ils étoient si ressemblans, que la sage Femme ne put certainement dire lequel étoit l'Aîné. Cette question se trouva aussi difficile à décider que celle des *trois aneaux,* que le Juif

[1] For full information see A. C. Lee, *The Decameron: its sources and analogues*, pp. 6—13: Gaston Paris, *La Poésie du Moyen-Âge*, II, pp. 131—163 (this contains abstracts of the stories): Marcus Landau, *Die Quellen des Dekameron*, pp. 183—8: *Gesta Romanorum*, ed. Oesterley, p. 726 (O. cites the parallel in Plutarch, *Numa*, 13): further references will be found in Traversari, *Bibliografia Boccaccesca*, under *Anelli, novella de' Tre*: Jacobs' ed. of Painter's *Palace of Pleasure*, Vol. I, p. lxxi: Gaston Paris, *La Légende de Saladin*, pp. 13 ff.: E. Schmidt, *Lessing*, II, pp. 327 ff.: and *Nathan der Weise*, ed. J. G. Robertson, pp. xxi—xxv.

[2] This form was translated in Painter's *Palace of Pleasure* (ed. Joseph Jacobs, Vol. I, pp. 116—8).

[3] Tale LXXXIX in Swan's translation.

Melchisédech proposa autrefois à *Saladin*, Soudan de Babilone, lesquels étoient si semblables que les experts n'en purent faire la diférence....'

Voltaire wrote in *Lettres Philosophiques*, xxii, 'Sur M. Pope et quelques autres poëtes fameux' (*Œuvres*, 1879 etc., Vol. 22, p. 175), 'Ce fameux *Conte du Tonneau* est une imitation de l'ancien conte des trois anneaux indiscernables, qu'un père légua à ses trois enfants....' (Cf. *Lettres à S. A. M^gr le Prince de* * * * * * v, 'Sur Swift,' in *Œuvres*, Vol. 26, pp. 489—91.)

It has since been several times affirmed and as often denied that Swift was indebted to this story. On the one hand it is to be noticed that both the story and the allegory in the *Tale* deal with three conflicting forms of religion, both employ the imagery of a father giving or leaving to each of three sons objects exactly similar to one another, and in some cases the story agrees with the allegory in favouring one son at the expense of the others. On the other hand, in the allegory the likeness of the coats causes no dispute, because nothing is made to depend upon distinguishing between them, and the allegory differs from the story by proceeding with the history of the three sons and their treatment of their father's gifts from the point at which the story ends. A testament is only mentioned in some versions of the story, and then no further than to say that the father left instructions how the true heir was to be recognised. In the *Tale* the interpretation of the will plays a large part in the allegory.

(c) *Fontenelle's 'Histoire de Mréo et d'Eénegu.'*

In the *Lettre sur M. Pope &c.* quoted above, Voltaire said that the *Tale* was also an imitation of Fontenelle's *Histoire de Mréo et d'Eénegu.* The *Histoire* pretends to be a letter written from *Batavia dans les Indes Orientales* and tells of the disputes between two rival Queens of Borneo. Mliséo[1] queen of Borneo had died: she was succeeded by her daughter Mréo (= Rome) who introduced several vexatious regulations—all her ministers were made eunuchs *d'une certaine façon*: the public feasts were retrenched: the price of bread was raised by the machinations of certain magicians: she set up a *salle des cadavres* and exacted homage to them from all who approached her; and so forth. The people of Borneo were angered by these things, and a new queen Eénegu (= Genève) arose who said that she was the real daughter of Mliséo, and alleged in proof her likeness to Mliséo. She abolished all

[1] Mr G. C. Macaulay suggests to me that Mliséo is an anagram for Solime, i.e. Solyma (Jerusalem).

the innovations and Mréo attacked her. When the letter was written the quarrel was still undecided.

The *Histoire* appeared in Bayle's *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres* in January 1686 (*Article X.* pp. 86—91). (See Louis Maigron: *Fontenelle*, pp. 180—96 and 282.) The likeness to Swift's allegory is not striking. The chief points in favour of Voltaire's suggestion are that the allegory deals with the Roman Catholic and Calvinistic Churches (Swift deals with the Roman Catholic, Lutheran, and Calvinistic Churches), speaks of them as children of a common ancestor, and makes one introduce novelties which the other abolishes.

The *Histoire* caused a good deal of interest when it was published, and it appeared in a volume which Swift might well have seen in Temple's library. It will be noticed that it was published in 1686, the date twice mentioned in section (*a*).

(*d*) *Optatus' 'De Chismate Donatistarum.'*

In *Notes and Queries*, 3rd Series, Vol. II, p. 5 (see also p. 55), it was suggested that Swift derived the allegory in the *Tale* from a passage in one of the works of S. Optatus. The passage is to be found in *Sancti Optati...Opera* (Paris 1631), pp. 84—5.

Optatus is speaking of rebaptism, and remarks that it is difficult to find impartial judges of the question at issue. He continues:

> Quaerendi sunt iudices: Si Christiani, de utraque parte dari non possunt: quia studiis ueritas impeditur. De foris quaerendus est iudex: Si paganus, non potest nosse Christiana secreta. Si Iudaeus, inimicus est Christiani baptismatis: Ergo in terris de hac re nullum poterit reperiri iudicium, de cœlo quaerendus est iudex. Sed ut quid pulsamus ad cœlum, cum habeamus hic in Euangelio testamentum? Quia hoc loco recte possunt terrena cœlestibus comparari: tale est, quod quiuis hominum habens numerosos filios. His, quamdiu pater praesens est, ipse imperat singulis: non est adhuc necessarium testamentum. Sic & Christus, quamdiu praesens in terris fuit (quamuis nec modo desit) pro tempore quicquid necessarium erat, Apostolis imperauit. Sed quo modo terrenus pater, cum se in confinio senserit mortis, timens ne post mortem suam, rupta pace, litigent fratres, adhibitis testibus, uoluntatem suam de pectore morituro transfert in tabulas diu duraturas, Et si fuerit inter fratres contentio nata, non itur ad tumultum, sed quaeritur testamentum: Et qui in tumulo quiescit, tacitus de tabulis loquitur: uiuus, is, cuius est testamentum, in cœlo est. Ergo uoluntas eius, uelut in testamento, sic in Euangelio inquiratur.

In this passage we have the father, the sons, and the will. The suggestion that Swift borrowed from it cannot be dismissed on the ground that the work in which it occurs was not likely to have been known to him. Swift's reading was extraordinarily wide, as the annotations of any edition of the *Tale* will show at once. But, in any case, there was not much in the passage for him to borrow.

(*e*) *Selden's 'Table Talk.'*

The following passage in Selden's *Table Talk* (1689) has been suggested as a source of the allegory (see *Notes and Queries*, 3rd Ser., XII, p. 451).

> Religion is like the Fashion, one Man wears his Doublet slash'd, another lac'd, another plain; but every Man has a Doublet: So every Man has his Religion. We differ about Trimming (p. 102 of Arber's ed.).

In this there is nothing like the *Tale* except the use of the simile from clothing. In this point the likeness is undeniable.

(*f*) *Buckingham's 'Letter to Mr Clifford: and Conference with an Irish Priest.'*

Writing in 1705 William Wotton in *A Defense of the Reflections upon Ancient and Modern Learning* said of the author of the *Tale*:

> ...his *Wit* is *not his own*, in many places. The *Actors* in his *Farce*, *Peter*, *Martin*, and *Jack*, are by name borrowed from a Letter written by the late Witty D. of *Buckingham*, concerning Mr. *Clifford's Human Reason*: And *Peter's* Banter upon *Transubstantiation*, is taken from the same D. of *Buckingham's Conference with an Irish Priest*...(p. 540).

The first passage will be found in Buckingham's *Works* (1715), Vol. II, p. 187.

> For when the first heat once was over, and considering Men began to reflect, that the Reformation offer'd nothing but Words, that it gave no intire Freedom to Consciences and Enquiries, they saw no satisfactory Motive of quitting their old *Mumsimus* for a new *Sumsimus*, and cou'd find no real Advantage in withdrawing from Father *Peter*, to Father *Martin*, and Father *John*....

The second passage is in the dialogue entitled *A Conference between the late Duke of Buckingham and An Irish Priest* (*ibid.* pp. 153—77). In the *Conference* an Irish priest is sent by James II to convert the Duke to Roman Catholicism. The Duke receives the priest and calls for a bottle of wine which the priest shares with him. He then tells the priest that the cork of the bottle is a horse. The priest thinks him insane and contradicts him. The Duke accepts the contradiction but later when the priest is about to speak of Transubstantiation the Duke recalls the argument about the cork and uses the priest's reasons against him.

Swift himself admitted that the coincidence in the names of the first passage was striking: the second is rather trivial and needs no particular examination.

(*g*) *Swift's Statements.*

In the *Apology* prefixed to the fifth edition of *A Tale of a Tub* (1710) Swift wrote (speaking of Wotton's *Defense*, quoted above)

> ...he concludes his pamphlet with a Caution to Readers to beware of thinking the author's wit was entirely his own: surely this must have had some allay of personal animosity at least, mixed with the design of serving the public, by so useful a discovery; and it indeed touches the author in a very tender point; who insists upon it, that through the whole book he has not borrowed one single hint from any writer in the world; and he thought, of all criticisms, that would never have been one. He conceived, it was never disputed to be an original, whatever faults it might have. However, this answerer produces three instances to prove *this author's wit is not his own in many places.* The first is, that the names of Peter, Martin, and Jack, are borrowed from a letter of the late Duke of Buckingham. Whatever wit is contained in those three names, the author is content to give it up, and desires his readers will subtract as much as they placed upon that account; at the same time protesting solemnly, that he never once heard of that letter except in this passage of the answerer: so that the names were not borrowed, as he affirms, though they should happen to be the same; which, however, is odd enough, and what he hardly believes: that of Jack being not quite so obvious as the other two. The second instance [from the *Conference*]...the author confesses to have seen about ten years after his book was writ, and a year or two after it was published....It was necessary that corruption should have some allegory as well as the rest; and the author invented the properest he could, without inquiring what other people had writ; and the commonest reader will find, there is not the least resemblance between the two stories.... (Swift's *Prose Works*, ed. Temple Scott, Vol. I, pp. 19—20[1].)

This statement covers all the suggested sources for the allegory. It is as complete and solemn as possible, and one cannot doubt that Swift was sincere when he wrote it. But it seems to me fairly certain that Swift was indebted for at least the outline of the allegory to one or more of the books cited.

His *Apology* was written 12 or 13 years after the main body of the *Tale*, possibly more. And it is very likely that in the interval he had forgotten some of the circumstances of its inception. Moreover a writer may borrow much without realising it. Ideas pass into the mind and grow and transform themselves, 'occulto velut arbor aevo[2].'

II.

The History of Martin.

The facts concerning the publication of the *History of Martin* cannot be made out from any of the modern editions of *A Tale of a Tub*, or from any of the modern authorities on Swift. Little or nothing has been said about its authorship: and it has been reprinted

[1] Corrected by reference to the original text.

[2] For a parallel see Carlyle's *Sartor Resartus*, ed. A. MacMechan: Introduction, pp. xix—xxi.

with no attempt to indicate the original sources of the text. It seems to have found its way into the modern editions without any examination of its credentials.

So far as is known the *History of Martin* was printed three times during Swift's life. It appeared in

(*a*) MISCELLANEOUS WORKS, Comical & Diverting: by T.R.D.J.S. D.O.P.I.I. IN TWO PARTS. I. The TALE *of a* TUB; with the *Fragment*, & the BATTEL *of the* BOOKS; with considerable *Additions*, & explanatory *Notes*, never before printed...LONDON, Printed by Order of the Society *de propagando*, &c. M.DCC.XX.

(*b*) A TALE OF A TUB...A new Edition, with the Author's Apology, and Explanatory Notes, by *W. Wotton* B.D. & others. LONDON M.DCC.XXXIV.

(*c*) THE HISTORY OF MARTIN...By the Rev. D—N S—T... LONDON: Printed for J. TEMPLE, near *S^t^ Dunstan's Church, Fleet*-[street].

The *Miscellaneous Works* of 1720, and the *Tale of a Tub* of 1734 appear to be pirated editions. The first of these is sometimes referred to as 'Dutch[1].' The date of the third is unknown. The copy in the British Museum Library has been badly cut in binding. The date on the title-page (if there was a date) has been cut off: it is supposed to be 1735 or 1742. No other copy of this edition is known.

The first volume (*a*, above) opens with a statement by the Bookseller, who prints part of a letter from 'an ingenious gentleman' who claims to have seen a MS. containing 'a great deal more than what is printed' [i.e. of the *Tale*], and says that he has 'writ down the heads of the most material' parts 'as near as' he 'can now remember.' The text of the *Tale*, of the *Discourse concerning the Mechanical Operation of the Spirit*, and of the *Battle of the Books*, follows this statement. The texts are followed by an *Analytical Table*. After the analysis of Section X of the *Tale* is printed the *History of Martin* under the heading 'Abstract of what follows after Sect. IX in the manuscript.' Why the 'Abstract' should not have been printed after the analysis of Section IX is not explained.

The text will be found in Temple Scott's edition of Swift: but the text there printed is Sir Walter Scott's, which is a compound of the preceding editions. It will be simplest to indicate, by reference to

[1] The volume has been submitted to two experts, but neither is able to say whether it was printed in England or abroad.

Temple Scott's edition (here referred to as B), what was printed in each of the three early editions.

(*a*) *Edition of* 1720.

This edition does not contain the heading in italics (B p. 145): the remainder is as printed in B (pp. 146—51), but without the sentence (p. 151) '*Here the author...line since.*'

After the sentence '*N.B. Some things that follow...print*' follow the analyses of Section XI and the Conclusion. After these comes the analysis of the *Discourse concerning the Mechanical Operation of the Spirit.* Lastly is printed *A Project for the universal benefit of mankind* (B pp. 152—53). It concludes with the sentence '*Here ends the Manuscript, there being nothing of the following piece in it.*' The 'following piece' is [the analysis of] the *Battle of the Books.*

(*b*) *Edition of* 1734.

The *History of Martin* is printed in the *Analytical Table* after the analysis of Section X, as in the edition of 1720.

It does not contain the heading in italics (B p. 145): the remainder is as printed in B pp. 146—51, but without the sentence (p. 151) '*Here the author...line since.*' After the sentence '*N.B. Some things...print*' follow the analyses of Section XI, of the *Conclusion,* of the *Discourse,* and of the *Battle.* The *Project* (B pp. 152—53) is omitted entirely.

(*c*) *Edition of* 1735 (*or* 1742).

In this edition the text is changed by the omission of the word 'How' wherever it occurred in the previous editions, and by such alterations as this omission makes necessary. The heading in italics (B p. 145) is from the title-page of this edition. The remainder is as printed in B pp. 146—51; but without the sentence '*N.B. Some things...print.*' The *Project* (B pp. 152—53) is omitted entirely.

The other differences in the three texts are verbal only. (*c*) appears to have been printed from (*a*): (*b*) has a good many small variations from (*a*).

In the edition of 1720, then, the *History of Martin* is printed not as the original text but as an abstract made from memory by an anonymous 'ingenious gentleman,' and printed by an anonymous bookseller. The Society *de propagando* is a jest.

The contents are no more reassuring than the method of publication. As a member of the Church of England Swift could not have written it (see the references to the Church of England B pp. 147—49 and 150—

51): to have printed it would have been fatal to his hopes of advancement. The allegory in it is of the kind that Swift avoided, and that a less intelligent writer would be sure to attempt. Its weakness is that it can have no end—the author has brought it down nearly to his own day, and there has to abandon it. In the *Tale* Swift stopped at the point where the history of the Church of England would have begun, contenting himself with his satire on the Roman Catholics and Nonconformists. He never intended to satirise his own church.

It is a minor detail that the story told is inconsistent with what Swift printed in the *Conclusion* of the *Tale* (B pp. 140—41).

In the *Supplement* to Swift's Works printed by Nichols in 1779 the editor wrote of the *History* (p. 332):

> Though certainly not the Dean's; they appear to have been written by someone, who had very attentively considered the subject. If we might be allowed to *guess* at their author, we should say, that it was *Thomas Swift*....

In Sir Walter Scott's edition of Swift (2nd ed., Vol. x, p. 205, Note), the editor wrote:

> ...the hints or fragments of allegory, here thrown out, are not in unison with the former part of the Tale, either in political principle or in conduct of the fable. The tone of many passages is decidedly not only *Whiggish*, but of the Low Church, and the author is forced, somewhat awkwardly, to introduce *two* Martins instead of *one*, the first representing the sect of Luther, the second the Church of England. The fragment...to me has much more...the appearance of a rough draught, thrown aside and altered, than of any continuation of the original story.

One cannot discuss the style of the *History of Martin* because it does not profess to preserve Swift's language exactly. In any case the *History* ought not to be regarded as of equal authority with the *Tale*, *Discourse*, and *Battle*: and in all probability it is no more than one of the numerous imitations of Swift.

[*To be continued.*]

A. C. GUTHKELCH.

LONDON.

GOLDSMITH'S INDEBTEDNESS TO JUSTUS VAN EFFEN.

VOLTAIRE, having conducted his Amazan, the hero of *La Princesse de Babylone*, into the country of the 'Bataves,' 'cette terre de liberté, d'égalité, de propreté, d'abondance, de tolérance,' makes him leave that blessed shore in search of a certain island called Albion, of which he had heard the Batavians speak with the highest praise. The people of Albion were, in the 18th century at any rate, not greatly inclined to return the compliment. It was not their eulogy that induced Oliver Goldsmith, that Voltairian philosophic vagabond, to cross to Helvoetsluys and visit the Dutch. He came with the preconceived notion that the Hollanders were an ill-mannered, ox-like species of man, 'the oddest figures in nature.' How far he ever got to know them is matter of conjecture only. Neither what length of time he spent among them, nor how that time was employed, are questions that can be answered satisfactorily. His name is not on record in the *Album Studiosorum* of the University at Leiden. Nor is it to be found in the so-called 'census rolls' (*recensierollen*) that were kept by the university beadles[1]. That he did study there is beyond all doubt, in view of the evidence of his fellow-student Ellis. But the short remarks on Holland and the Dutch that are scattered through his writings do not show that insight into the Dutch mind which might be expected from such a shrewd observer as the author of *The Citizen of the World*. His letter from Leiden to his uncle Contarine does not contain the superficial criticism of a first impression; it contains no impression whatever, only the traditional

[1] Mr Du Rieu, the editor of the *Album Studiosorum*, believes that Goldsmith was erroneously registered as *William Oliver Anglus* 22 *Med.*, which name is recorded on Sept. 21, 1753. I do not know what reasons Du Rieu had for identifying this W. Oliver with the poet. The census-rolls do not confirm the hypothesis. It appears from these that William Oliver lodged at the house of Mr Frans Floot, whereas Goldsmith's landlady was Mad. Diallion, to the care of whom he asked his uncle Contarine to address a reply to his letter: cf. *Handelingen en Mededeelingen van de Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde te Leiden*, 1895—96, pp. 153 f.

witticisms in the manner of Marvell's famous *Satire on Holland.* He might have written that letter in Edinburgh for what it tells his uncle about the Dutch. The wise and far-travelled Lien chi Altangi observes in one of his letters to Fum Hoam: 'The genius of a country should be investigated with a kind of experimental inquiry: by this means, we should have more precise and just notions of foreign nations, and detect travellers themselves, when they happened to form wrong conclusions.' It would have been better if Goldsmith, during his residence in Holland, had practised this maxim of his Chinese fellow-cosmopolitan. But 'the slow canal' may have infected his natural indolence and made him slow of observation.

There is, however, one passage in his writings where, instead of the traditional ridicule, praise is bestowed upon an institution, from his knowledge of which it might be inferred that he had studied the Dutch and their manners and had 'viewed them closer' than his other references to them would seem to imply. I mean his praise of the Dutch institution of the 'peace-makers' mentioned in the essay 'Upon political Frugality,' the first in the fifth number of *The Bee.* Can that troublesome disorder 'which of all nations the English bear worst[1],' and which with him had become a chronic disease, can the 'maladie de poche' have involved him in difficulties with his Leiden landlady, and, in that way, have made him experimentally acquainted with the peace-makers' office? Such an event would have supplied him with excellent matter for a humorous description of his litigation with a Dutch landlady, a beauty of Chinese charms, broad face, short nose and black teeth[2]. But personal experience was not his source of information. The title of a short pamphlet of Voltaire's, which I found quoted in an article on 'Voltaire et la Hollande,' by George Bengesco, in the *Revue de Paris* (Vol. XIX), led me to the right track. The title in question runs as follows: *Fragment d'une lettre sur un usage très utile en Hollande*; and its contents are summarised by Bengesco as being 'une courte apologie du tribunal des conciliateurs.' Goldsmith's eulogy of the peace-makers appears to be a literal translation of the entire fragment. He may have known the '*Recueil de pièces fugitives en prose et en vers,* par M. de V.***' published in 1740, in which it is contained.

To enable the reader to judge for himself as to the literalness of the rendering, I subjoin Voltaire's letter in full and the corresponding paragraphs from the doctor's essay in juxtaposition:

[1] *Present state of Polite Learning,* Ch. XIII.
[2] Cf. *Citizen of the World,* L. III.

Il serait à souhaiter que ceux qui sont à la tête des nations imitassent les artisans.

Dèsqu'on sait à Londres qu'on fait une nouvelle étoffe en France, on la contrefait. Pourquoi un homme d'état ne s'empressera-t-il pas d'établir dans son pays une loi utile qui viendra d'ailleurs ? Nous sommes parvenus à faire la même porcelaine qu'à la Chine ; parvenons à faire le bien qu'on fait chez nos voisins, et que nos voisins profitent de ce que nous avons d'excellent.

Il y a tel particulier qui fait croître dans son jardin des fruits que la nature n'avait destinés qu'à mûrir sous la ligne : nous avons à nos portes mille lois, mille coutumes sages ; voilà les fruits qu'il faut y transplanter : ceux-là viennent en tous climats, et se plaisent dans tous les terrains.

La meilleure loi, le plus excellent usage, le plus utile que j'aie jamais vu, c'est en Hollande. Quand deux hommes veulent plaider l'un contre l'autre, ils sont obligés d'aller d'abord au tribunal des conciliateurs, appelés *feseurs de paix*. Si les parties arrivent avec un avocat et un procureur, on fait d'abord retirer ces derniers, comme on ôte le bois d'un feu qu'on veut éteindre. Les *feseurs de paix* disent aux parties : vous êtes de grands fous de vouloir manger votre argent à vous rendre mutuellement malheureux ; nous allons vous accommoder sans qu'il vous en coûte rien. Si la rage de la chicane est trop forte dans ces plaideurs, on les remet à un autre jour, afin que le temps adoucisse les symptomes de leur maladie. Ensuite les juges les envoient chercher une seconde, une troisième fois. Si leur folie est incurable, on leur permet de plaider, comme on abandonne au fer des chirurgiens des membres gangrenés : alors la justice fait sa main.

Il n'est pas nécessaire de faire ici de longues déclamations, ni de calculer ce qui en reviendrait au genre humain si cette loi était adoptée. D'ailleurs je ne veux point aller sur les brisées de

It were to be wished that they who govern kingdoms would imitate artisans.

When at London a new stuff has been invented, it is immediately counterfeited in France. How happy were it for society, if a first minister would be equally solicitous to transplant the useful laws of other countries into his own. We are arrived at a perfect imitation of porcelain ; let us endeavour to imitate the good to society that our neighbours are found to practise, and let our neighbours also imitate those parts of duty in which we excel.

There are some men who in their gardens attempt to raise those fruits which nature has adapted only to the sultry climates beneath the line. We have at our very doors a thousand laws and customs infinitely useful : these are the fruits we should endeavour to transplant ; these the exotics that would speedily become naturalized to the soil. They might grow in every climate and benefit every possessor.

The best and the most useful laws I have ever seen, are generally practised in Holland. When two men are determined to go to law with each other, they are first obliged to go before the reconciling judges, called the *peacemakers*. If the parties come attended with an advocate, or a solicitor, they are obliged to retire, as we take fuel from the fire we are desirous of extinguishing. The peace-makers then begin advising the parties, by assuring them, that it is the height of folly to waste their substance, and make themselves mutually miserable by having recourse to the tribunals of justice ; follow but our direction, and we will accommodate matters without any expense to either. If the rage of debate is too strong upon either party, they are remitted back for another day, in order that time may soften their tempers and produce a reconciliation. They are thus sent for twice or thrice ; if their folly happens to be incurable, they are permitted to go to law, and as we give up to amputation such members as cannot be cured by art, justice is permitted to take its course.

It is unnecessary to make here long declamations, or calculate what society would save, were this law adopted.

M. l'abbé de Saint Pierre, dont un ministre plein d'esprit appelait les projets 'les rêves d'un homme de bien.'

Je sais que souvent un particulier qui s'avise de proposer quelque chose pour le bonheur public se fait berner. On dit: De quoi se mêle-t-il?

.

Voilà un plaisant homme, de vouloir que nous soyons plus heureux que nous ne sommes! ne sait-il pas qu'un abus est toujours le patrimoine d'une bonne partie de la nation[1]? Pourquoi nous ôter un mal où tant de gens trouvent leur bien? A cela je n'ai rien à répondre.

I am sensible, that the man who advises any reformation, only serves to make himself ridiculous. What! mankind will be apt to say, adopt the customs of countries that have not so much real liberty as our own? our present customs, what are they to any man? we are very happy under them: this must be a very pleasant fellow, who attempts to make us happier than we already are! Does he not know that abuses are the patrimony of a great part of the nation? Why deprive us of a malady by which such numbers find their account? This I must own, is an argument to which I have nothing to reply.

Goldsmith's praise of the Dutch for possessing 'the best and the most useful laws' he ever saw is so unexpected as to arouse suspicion of its sincerity. The only sentence which Goldsmith inserted in the fragmentary letter of Voltaire agrees much better with his usual opinion of the Dutch. To follow Voltaire's advice were to follow the example of a nation which has not so much real liberty as the English! Where Goldsmith indulges in his own speculations on Holland's 'patient sons,' they are described as the slaves of tyrannical laws:

'In every republic the laws must be strong, because the constitution is feeble; they must resemble an Asiatic husband, who is justly jealous because he knows himself impotent. Thus in Holland, Switzerland, and Genoa, new laws are not frequently enacted, but the old ones are observed with unremitting severity. In such republics, therefore, the people are slaves to laws of their own making, little less than in unmixed monarchies, where they are slaves to the will of one, subject to frailties like themselves[2].'

This passage might serve as a commentary on the well-known line of *The Traveller*, in which the Dutch Republic is stigmatized as 'A land of tyrants and a den of slaves,' and explain how Goldsmith could apply to Holland these words which, two years earlier, had been used to describe the 'unmixed monarchy' of Persia: 'Into what a state of misery are the modern Persians fallen! A nation famous for setting the world an example of freedom, is now become a land of tyrants and a den of slaves[3].' The analogy between the passages from the 49th

[1] This remark may have suggested to Goldsmith his satire on the English administration of justice in Letter xcvii of his *Citizen of the World*: 'Why have we so many lawyers but to secure our property? Why so many formalities, but to secure our property? Not less than one hundred thousand families live in opulence elegance, and ease, merely by securing our property.'

[2] *Citizen of the World*, L. xli.

[3] *Citizen of the World*, L. xxxiv.

of the Chinese Letters and the poem does not stop here. In the letter the judgment pronounced on the laws of such republics as the Netherlands is followed by the praises of the English constitution as creating 'the most perfect state of civil liberty of which we can form any idea.' In *The Traveller*, after the denunciation of 'the land of tyrants and the den of slaves,' the poet concludes with the exclamation 'How much unlike the sons of Britain now!'

But the passage from *The Citizen of the World* is the utterance of a theorising philosopher, who does not pretend to state what is, but concludes what is bound to be. In *The Traveller*, on the other hand, the philosophic vagabond speaks from his own experience; trusting to better authority than inference, the testimony of his own eyes. We can forgive the theorist for arriving at false conclusions. For theory, with logic for her guide, has only one way to go by, the high-road of generalisation, which she dare not leave for the maze of reality's meandering bypaths, lest logic should fall out with her and leave her to shift for herself. But the experimental philosopher ought not to travel in that manner. Observing the infinity of possibilities, where theory can see one fact only, he must realize that the proper course to his goal may lie along one of the various winding tracks. What is true for the republic of Genoa must be true also for the republic of the Dutch, says the generalising high-road traveller. But the philosophic vagabond should not have repeated the phrase. He might have seen, if he had used his own eyes, that civil freedom could be reconciled with a republican constitution. But refusing to believe the evidence of his eyes rather than an accepted theory, he fell into the strange error of calling that country 'a land of tyrants and a den of slaves' which had been praised by Voltaire as 'cette terre de liberté, d'égalité, de propreté, d'abondance, de tolérance.'

Goldsmith might have known better. For he was acquainted with the French writings of a Dutch author, who in one of his letters, which Goldsmith had read and translated, claims for his countrymen a feeling of pride and self-esteem hardly compatible with the abject serfdom for which Goldsmith despises them. The first number of *The Bee* contains 'A Letter from a Traveller' to his 'Dear Will,' dated from Cracow, August 2, 1758. The writer is travelling in Poland in the retinue of a prince. He can hardly believe that he is in the country which was once so formidable in war and spread terror over the Roman Empire. The population are an abject, shrinking race, whom nothing but blows and threats can make amenable to their duty. 'How different these

from the common people of England, whom a blow might induce to return the affront sevenfold.' Read 'Holland' instead of 'England' in the last sentence, and the original tenour of the passage is restored. What seems a genuine outburst of English patriotism is a translation from a Dutchman's French. Of this letter as it stands in *The Bee* only the first two and the concluding paragraphs were conceived in Green Arbour Court. The bulk of the epistle was written nine years before the editor of *The Bee* was born. The writer was the Dutch essayist Justus van Effen, the country through which he travelled was Sweden, and Goldsmith's nameless prince was the prince of Hessen-Philipsthal, who, in 1719, had gone to Stockholm on a visit to his cousin, the consort of the Swedish queen. He had chosen Justus van Effen for his travelling companion, to whose letters, written in French to a friend in Holland, we owe the account of their journey. They were collected under the title of *Relation d'un Voyage de Hollande en Suède, contenue en quelques lettres de l'auteur du Misanthrope*, and printed for the first time in 1729, at the end of *Le Misanthrope*, a collection of essays in imitation of the *Tatler* and the *Spectator*. The letter in question is the sixth of van Effen's *Relation*. The following transcripts may show what use Goldsmith made of his French original. The letter from *The Bee* is printed in full:

> Cracow,
>
> *Aug.* 2, 1758.
>
> My dear Will,
>
> You see by the date of my letter that I am arrived in Poland. When will my wanderings be at an end? When will my restless disposition give me leave to enjoy the present hour? When at Lyons, I thought all happiness lay beyond the Alps; when in Italy I found myself still in want of something, and expected to leave solicitude behind me by going into Romelia; and now you find me turning back, still expecting ease every where but where I am. It is now seven years since I saw the face of a single creature who cared a farthing whether I was dead or alive. Secluded from all the comforts of confidence, friendship, or society, I feel the solitude of a hermit, but not his ease.
>
> The prince of *** has taken me in his train, so that I am in no danger of starving for this bout. The prince's governor is a rude ignorant pedant, and his tutor a battered rake; thus between two such characters, you may imagine

Le moyen de m'imaginer que je me trouvois dans la patrie de ces Goths fameux, dont autrefois les terribles peuplades inondèrent l'univers, et en conquirent une grande partie, toujours soutenues par de nouvelles Armées, qui se succédoient les unes aux autres, comme les ondes de la mer.

nous eûmes souvent pour postillons des enfans d'onze ou douze ans.....

Ce n'est pas tout, nous courûmes plus de vingt postes menés par des filles, qui s'en acquitoient dans la dernière perfection. ..... on leur faisoit présent à chacune d'un Carolin, qui peut valoir cinq sols, ce qui les renvoyoit contentes comme des Reines: elles se montroient ce riche présent les unes aux autres d'un air d'extase, elles faisaient cinquante révérences au Prince....En général nous étions mieux servis par les jeunes gens de l'un et de l'autre sexe que par les graves vieillards, dont un bon nombre sembloit communiquer leur gravité aux chevaux. Il nous était aisé de démêler parmi ces derniers, ceux qui avoient été soldats d'avec ceux qui n'avoient jamais porté les armes, et je ne sache pas que nous nous soyons jamais trompé dans les conjectures que nous faisions à cet égard. Ces vétérans se distinguoient par un air éveillé, gaillard, et un peu relevé: d'ailleurs ils alloient rondement en besogne, et faisoient leur devoir en braves gens. Les simples manans au contraire avoient quelque chose de plus lourd, de plus sombre, et de plus stupide; un intérêt

he is finely instructed. I made some attempts to display all the little knowledge I had acquired by reading or observation; but I find myself regarded as an ignorant intruder. The truth is, I shall never be able to acquire a power of expressing myself with ease in any language but my own; and, out of my own country, the highest character I can ever acquire, is that of being a philosophic vagabond.

When I consider myself in the country which was once so formidable in war, and spread terror and desolation over the whole Roman empire, I can hardly account for the present wretchedness and pusillanimity of its inhabitants; a prey to every invader; their cities plundered without an enemy; their magistrates seeking redress by complaints, and not by vigour. Everything conspires to raise my compassion for their miseries, were not my thoughts too busily engaged by my own. The whole kingdom is in a strange disorder: when our equipage, which consists of the prince and thirteen attendants, had arrived at some towns, there were no conveniences to be found, and we were obliged to have girls to conduct us to the next.

I have seen a woman travel thus on horseback before us for thirty miles, and think herself highly paid, and make twenty reverences, upon receiving, with exstasy, about twopence for her trouble.

In general we were better served by the women than the men on those occasions.

The men seemed directed by a low

grossier et direct sembloit les gouverner uniquement ; leur grand but était de ménager leurs haridelles ; quand on les prioit honnêtement de fouëtter, ils ne s'en remuoient pas plus que des souches, c'était un language qu'ils n'entendoient pas. Pour les émouvoir, il falloit leur parler d'un ton foudroyant, et lever la canne sur eux, comme si on allait les abîmer de coups. Quelquefois il étoit absolument nécessaire de frapper tout de bon. Quelle différence entre ces ames serviles, et nos gens du commun en Hollande, qu'on révolte par une parole rude, et que les manières douces et honnêtes portent à servir avec ardeur ceux qui les emploient ! Quelle mortification pour un homme raisonnable et humain, d'être forcé à respecter si peu dans un autre l'excellence de sa propre nature, et à considérer son prochain comme une bête de charge faite exprès pour l'esclavage ! Mais ces pauvres gens, à force d'être maltraités perdent le respect qu'ils se doivent à eux-mêmes ; ils ont contracté l'habitude de regarder la contrainte comme la grande règle de leur devoir ; je m'imaginois dans ces tristes occasions, suivre les opérations machinales de leur esprit. Quand on les traitoit avec douceur, ils ne sentoient pas qu'on étoit leur maître, et par cela même ils ne le croyoient pas ; ils s'égaloient à ceux qu'ils devoient servir, et peut-être cette humanité continuée et soutenue les auroit rendus insolens. Mais le ton impérieux, les menaces, les coups, changeoient en même tems leurs sensations et leurs idées ; leurs oreilles et leurs épaules faisoient rentrer leur ame dans la servitude, dont pendant quelques momens elle s'étoit cru sortie.

sordid interest alone ; they seemed mere machines and all their thoughts were employed in the care of their horses. If we gently desired them to make more speed, they took not the least notice ; kind language was what they had by no means been used to. It was proper to speak to them in the tones of anger,

and sometimes it was even necessary to use blows to excite them to their duty. How different these from the common people of England, whom a blow might induce to return the affront sevenfold !

These poor people, however, from being brought up to vile usage, lose all the respect which they should have for themselves. They have contracted a habit of regarding constraint as the great rule of their duty.

When they were treated with mildness, they no longer continued to perceive a superiority.

They fancied themselves our equals, and a continuance of our humanity might probably have rendered them insolent : but the imperious tone, menaces, and blows, at once changed their sensations and their ideas ; their ears and shoulders taught their souls to shrink back into servitude, from which they had for some moments fancied themselves disengaged.

The enthusiasm of liberty an Englishman feels is never so strong, as when presented by such prospects as these. I must own, in all my indigence, it is one of my comforts (perhaps, indeed, it is my only boast), that I am of that happy country ; though I scorn to starve there ; though I do not choose to lead a life of wretched dependence, or be an object for my former acquaintance to point at. While you enjoy all the ease and elegance of prudence and virtue, your old friend wanders over the world, without a single anchor to hold by, or a friend, except you, to confide in.

Yours, &c.

In a note Goldsmith announced his intention of continuing this correspondence occasionally. 'I shall alter nothing either in the style or substance of these letters, and the reader may depend on their being genuine.' There is a sly humour in the underlying truthfulness of this misleading remark. The sequel to the letter from Cracow did actually appear in *The Bee*. The discovery of the original of the Cracow epistle gave me a clue to Goldsmith's source of information for *Some Particulars relative to Charles XII not commonly known*, which form part of the second number. They are skilfully pieced together from the eighth and the twelfth letters of Van Effen's *Relation*. Only in two insignificant details has the translator deviated from his French original. The letter-writer has seen in the Arsenal in Stockholm 'the bloody, yet precious spoils of the two greatest heroes the North ever produced. What I mean are the clothes in which the great Gustavus Adolphus and the intrepid Charles XII died by a fate not unusual to kings.' The French text reads the exact opposite of 'not unusual': 'Je veux parler des habits dans lesquels ont péri, par un sort peu ordinaire aux Rois, le grand Gustave-Adolphe, et l'intrépide Charles XII.' The other instance occurs in the passage describing how prince Charles, in a fit of fever, boxed the ears of a gentleman who was in the act of covering him up in his bed. 'Some hours after, observing the prince more calm, he entreated to know how he had incurred his displeasure, or what he had done to have merited a blow. A blow! replied Charles, I don't remember anything of it; I remember, indeed, that I thought myself in the battle of Arbela, fighting for Darius, where I gave Alexander a blow which brought him to the ground.' According to van Effen, however, the prince excused himself by saying, 'je rêvois que j'étois à la tête de l'Armée Impériale en Hongrie, que je combattois ces rebelles, et que d'un coup de sabre j'emportois la tête à un de leurs chefs.' In the two pages which follow this anecdote in van Effen's narration, and which Goldsmith has left out, the Dutch author observes that the King had, at an early age, imbibed exalted ideas of chivalry from reading Quintus Curtius' *Life of Alexander*. 'En se familiarisant avec Quinte-Curce on l'avait habitué à l'admiration des sublimes extravagances d'Alexandre, on l'avait excité à le prendre pour modèle.' This may have suggested to Goldsmith his new version of the anecdote.

Dr Johnson, in his epitaph on Goldsmith's tomb, bears witness to his friend's versatility and genius:

> Nullum fere scribendi genus non tetigit,
> Nullum quod tetigit non ornavit.

And Goldsmith himself declared in the fourth number of *The Bee*: 'quae non fecimus ipsi, vix ea nostra voco.' It is, therefore, no small honour for Justus van Effen that the man who added beauty to whatever he touched did not scorn to let some prose of his 'quod non ipse fecit' pass with the public for his own. But Van Effen had deserved better from the English world of letters than to be borrowed from without acknowledgement. Many an English author owed his fame on the Continent to Van Effen's French translations. In 1710 he published at the Hague an *Essai sur l'usage de la raillerie et de l'enjouement dans les conversations qui roulent sur les matières les plus importantes*, translated from the English of Shaftesbury. In 1721 appeared from his pen, *Le Conte du Tonneau, contenant tout ce que les arts et les sciences ont de plus sublime et de plus mystérieux. Avec plusieurs autres pièces très curieuses. Par le fameux Dr Swift. Traduit de l'Anglois.* He was, probably, also the translator of *Robinson Crusoe*, published in Amsterdam in 1720 and 1721. Mandeville's *Free thoughts upon Religion and publick liberty or happiness*, appeared in a French rendering by Van Effen in 1722 (*Pensées libres sur la Religion, l'Eglise et le bonheur de la nation*). And in the following year he brought out *Le Mentor Moderne, ou Discours sur les mœurs du siècle: traduits de l'Anglois du Guardian de Mrs Addison, Steele, et autres auteurs du Spectateur.* He paid a final tribute to the literature of England, which he admired so much, when, in 1731, on the twentieth of August, he issued the first essay of his masterpiece, *De Hollandsche Spectator*, in imitation of its illustrious English predecessor, which he was to continue until April 1735, the year of his death.

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INDEFINITE COMPOSITES AND WORD-COINAGE.

Recognition of 'blending' as a mode of word-formation, the telescoping of two or more words into one, as it were, or the superposition of one word upon another, is not new among etymologists, although the subject has never been given separate or very elaborate treatment. Some instances of these factitious amalgam forms, the 'portmanteau words' of Lewis Carroll's *Through the Looking Glass*, the blend or fusion forms of etymologists or lexicographers, are *dumbfound* from *dumb* and *confound*, *dang* from *damn* and *hang*, *gerrymander* from Elbridge Gerry and *salamander*, *electrocute* from *electric* and *execute*; probably *boost* from *boom* and *hoist*, *lunch* from *lump* and *hunch*, *luncheon* from *lunch* and the now obsolete *nuncheon*, *scurry* from *skirr* or *scour* and *hurry*, *squirm* from *squir* and *swarm*; also numerous mongrel slang or dialect forms, often jocular in intention, like the American *slantendicular*, *solemncholy*, *happenstance*, *grandificient*, *sweatspiration*, or the English dialectal *rasparated*, *boldacious*, *boldrumptious*. Blend forms have been noted for French, German, and other European languages, and probably have an antiquity which it would be futile to try to trace. Wiclif and other writers, from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century, use *austern*, a composite of *austere* and *stern*; Shakespeare uses *bubukle* from *bubo* and *carbuncle*, and *porpentine*, which may be a crossing of *porcypine* and *porpoint*; and undoubtedly many such forms have won acceptance, from time to time, in the history of the language; although, in most cases, they would be difficult to solve, after use long enough for the striking or whimsical quality which gave them vogue to become dimmed.

Nevertheless it is safe to affirm that factitious blends are being made with the greatest frequency, and have their widest diffusion, at the present time[1]. For one thing, the modern bent toward conscious analysis of language, the persistent interest in etymology, and the

[1] In a forthcoming study entitled *Blends: their Relation to English Word Formation* to be published in the 'Anglistische Forschungen' series, the author expects to illustrate fully their vogue and the frequency of their coinage at the present time, and to note their various usages and characteristics.

increased knowledge of the processes of word-formation, have led to increased self-consciousness in the handling of language. They have brought greater relish of peculiar or characteristic usages, and hence more effort—sometimes desperate and varied effort—to reach new linguistic effects. Other factors that may have helped to give special impetus to the present inclination toward fusion forms are the popularization of writing of all kinds through the spread of education and the multiplication of readers, the creation of a class of professional humorous, or semi-humorous writers, mainly journalistic, and lastly the growth of realism, which has swept into print a mass of dialect forms, whimsical, perverted, and fantastic, such as never crossed the linguistic horizon of the average reader of a hundred years ago. Especially frequent of creation at present, and accepted in standing, are blend-formations in scientific nomenclature, as *chloroform*, or *formaldehyde*, and designations created for various newly invented articles in trade, as *Nabisco* wafers, made by the National Biscuit Company, *Sealpacker-chief*, for a sealed package of pocket-handkerchiefs, *Pneu-Vac*, for a vacuum cleaner, or *Locomobile*, for a certain variety of automobile.

But there has not been recognition, at least not specific or definitely formulated recognition, of the fact that vague or indefinite blending exists as a mode of word-formation alongside the more obvious and intentional amalgamation which has challenged and monopolized attention hitherto. The suggestion may be speculative or conjectural, rather than concretely demonstrable; but the hypothesis here put forward, if valid, sheds light in a few dark corners of the etymological field. The most usual modes of creating folk-words at the present time are through imitation of natural sounds, as *fizz*, *kersplash*, *chug-chug*; through analogical extension or enlargement, as *judgmatical* or *splendiferous*; through curtailments, like *bus* from *omnibus*, *auto* from *automobile*; through the creation of new words from proper names, as *mercerize*, *mackintosh*, *pasteurize*, *boycott*, and the like. Alongside these familiar methods of language creation or modification, many words peculiarly perplexing to etymologists probably originate in a sort of indefinite or eclectic fusion of certain vaguely recollected words, groups of words, or elements in words, already existing in the language. Nor is it unlikely that echoic composites of this class may equal or outrank, in number and importance, the more intentional and recognizable fusion forms which have hitherto attracted the attention of linguists.

The process of word-coinage which, for expediency in classifying the words involved, or in characterizing their manner of origin, I have

called in this paper *indefinite blending*, or *reminiscent amalgamation*, borders not only upon blending or fusion proper—definite blends of few and easily recognizable elements being the more likely to be conscious formations and to retain unimpaired the potency in implication of their various elements—but also upon *onomatopœia*, or direct imitation of natural sounds, and upon the *unconscious symbolism of sounds*[1]. The latter arises partly from the nature of the sounds themselves; for example from the difference in suggestive power between open or close, high or low vowels; in the quality of certain consonant combinations; in the difference between explosives and continuants, between voiced consonants and voiceless. Poets in particular are likely to avail themselves of this principle to attain what is called 'tone color.' But the symbolism may also arise, or find its suggestive power, partly through *association* with familiar established words in which these sounds occur. The subtle suggestion of combinations of letters is a subject as yet little investigated.

To proceed to specific illustration, it is obvious that certain consonant groups are likely to retain the associations of prominent words in which they are found; as the initial *sq-* of *squeeze, squelch, squirt, squirm*, may unconsciously convey the idea of impetus or motion, rather violent motion, perhaps. The final *-sh* of *crush, crash, splash, wash, gush, dash, squash, mash, swash*, etc., also suggests motion, in this case motion which is continuous, as symbolized by the final spirant. The factitious English and American *sqush*[2], or *squush*, and the English *squish*, which have these sounds, may be direct blendings, the one of *squeeze* and *crush*, the other of *squeeze* and *swish*; but it seems more likely that they are indefinite or eclectic composites, which derive their suggestive power from the associations or symbolism of their prominent elements. *Squish* is defined in Wright's *English Dialect Dictionary* as used in the sense of *squeeze, squirt, squash, gush, mash*, and these words, vaguely recollected, may well have entered into its composition. Similarly, take the case of the initial *sn-* of *sniff, snout, snuff, sneeze, snore*, etc., words associated with the nose, or the sense of smell. The fairly recent

[1] For a suggestive passage on the symbolism of sounds, having some bearing on the matter under discussion, see L. P. Smith, *The English Language*, pp. 102—105 (1912). 'Echoic composites' might be a better name than 'indefinite composites' for the type of blends treated in this paper, were it not for the fact that 'echoic' is usually employed by philologists not in its primary meaning—that which it would have here—but in the meaning of onomatopoetic, given it by Dr Murray, Mr Bradley, and others. But see especially H. Bradley, *The Making of English*, pp. 156—159 (1904).

[2] 'If I went fust down th' ladder I could click hold on him and chock him over my head, so as he should go squshin' down the shaft, breakin' his bones at every timberin''... Kipling, 'On Greenhow Hill,' in *Soldiers Three and Military Tales.*

snuzzle, now admitted into the dictionaries, may be a combination of this *sn-* with the ending of *nuzzle*, *muzzle*, *guzzle*; although *snuzzle* might be solved as a direct blend of *snuff* and *nuzzle*; or merely as the latter word with adscitious initial *s*. The factitious *slosh*, also admitted to the dictionaries, gains probably from the associations or symbolism of the group *slush*, *gush*, *wash*, *splash*, etc. The occasionally appearing *squdged*[1], or *squudged*, implies *squeeze*, *crush*, *crowd*, *scrouge*, and the like.

In general it is obvious that in words so formed there would arise a feeling of natural and inherent fitness for the idea expressed. Vague conflation of this sort is an easy and tempting method of word creation[2], and it accounts readily enough for many forms for which the zealous have vainly sought foreign originals or cognates. There might be doubt as regards which words so arose; a fixed list of 'indefinite composites' might not be possible; but there can hardly be doubt of the existence of the method itself.

Distinctive of this variety of blends, if they may be called such, is the fact that they so often suggest or involve onomatopœia, as the words cited have shown; also the fact that they are not felt as specific composites, as are recognized fusion forms; e.g., *promptual*, *fidgituted*, *insinuendo*, *sneakret*, the *universanimous* of Lowell's *Biglow Papers*, or Wallace Irwin's *kissletoe-vine* and *nightinglory bird*[3]. There is always the sense of intrinsic fitness for the idea expressed, but not a sense of definite elements in amalgam. However, the line between blends proper and conjectural or indefinite blends is sometimes hard to draw. The now well-established though lately formed *squawk* may be a welding of *squeak* and *squall*, but *squeal*, *shriek*, *hawk*, etc., may have haunted the mind also in its creation. *Scurry*, of doubtful etymology, may be a 'portmanteau form' from *scour*, older *skirr*, and *hurry*; but, were it a recent instead of an older word, one would be tempted to think that *scud*, *scoot*, etc., might have played some part in its formation. Into *splurge*, for which no etymology has been proposed, might enter the elements of *splash*, with its variants *splatter*, *splutter*, and *large*.

[1] 'They've put us into boots,' said Una, 'Look at my feet—they're all pale white, and my toes are squdged together awfully.' Kipling, 'Cold Iron,' in *Rewards and Fairies*.

[2] A decade or more ago (see Leon Mead, *How Words Grow*, XII, 1902), the London *Academy* offered prizes for four new words. Among those suggested were *snumble*, to signify a child's effort to express the sensation felt in the nostrils when one drinks an effervescing mineral water, *screel*, the sensation produced by hearing a knife-edge squeal on a slate, *scrungle*, the noise made by a slate pencil squeaked on a slate, *twink*, a testy person full of kinks and cranks, and several similar formations obviously having their origin in a sort of reminiscent amalgamation.

[3] 'Letters of a Japanese Schoolboy,' in *Collier's Weekly*, vi, viii, xix, vols. 41, 42.

Flaunt has been thought to blend the elements of *fly*, *flout*, *vaunt*[1], etc. The *myowl*, used by Kipling and others, may combine *meow* and *yowl*, but it involves also the suggestive power of *howl*, *wail*, *yell*, etc. Perhaps, if it is expedient to attempt to draw a definite line at all, blend words proper may be defined as, or restricted to, those having two, or at most three, elements in combination; as the mongrel *quituate* from *graduate* and *quit*, *interturb* from *interrupt* and *disturb*, or *compushity* from *compulsion*, *push*, and *necessity*, or *compushency* from *compulsion*, *push*, and *urgency*, or *boldrumptious* from *presumptuous*, *bold*, and *rumpus*. Those that recall, or seem vaguely to have the potency of four words or more, might then be classed as indefinite blends. In factitious words of the first type, the elements are often deliberately and consciously chosen. In words of the second type this is by no means to be implied. But much emphasis should not be placed on the *number* of elements entering into blends. Of more importance surely is the distinction that coinages of the type treated in this paper are created under the influence of indefinite rather than definite suggestion. Many words which are properly to be classed as indefinite composites might depend on no more than two or three words vaguely present in the user's mind.

To some, the words under discussion are 'imitative words[2],' or 'imitative variants' of existent established words. In the sense that the onomatopoetic factor enters into many, as already noted, the name is often valid; but it is less good if 'imitative' is meant to imply that they are made in direct imitation of other words. The impelling motive in their creation is less conscious imitation than vague recollection, with resultant fusion, of certain elements in other words; elements which have come—largely through association or reminiscence—to have a certain symbolic power.

To attempt a fixed or exhaustive list of indefinite blends would no doubt, as already noted, prove neither very successful, nor perhaps very profitable. The short list which follows—a list which might have been indefinitely extended—is meant to be suggestive only; it supplements the illustrative words already cited. Unless entry otherwise is made, the forms listed are from Wright's *English Dialect Dictionary*, and

[1] L. P. Smith, *op. cit.*, *supra*, p. 106.

[2] See *slump*, originally meaning to fall or sink in a bog or swamp. The *New English Dictionary* calls this word 'probably imitative' in origin; but compare the group *slip*, *swamp*, *plump*, *thump*, *bump*, etc., from which it might well have been built. *The Century Dictionary* enters words of the character of *croodle*, *flump*, etc., as perhaps 'imitative words.'

no etymology, or theory of origin, was given for them there. The list is purposely confined mainly to contemporary dialect words. After all, it is these words which one approaches with fewest predilections, and concerning which, since they are contemporary, our *Sprachgefühl* ought to be most reliable. As has been often pointed out, the processes of living dialect speech are often much more important for the investigation of the problems of linguistics, than is investigation of the literary language.

bash, strike, beat, smash. 'Aa bashed me head,' 'Ye've bashed yer hat.' Barrère and Leland, *Dictionary of Slang*, following the *New English Dictionary*, suggest Scandinavian origin, and compare Swedish *basa*, strike; but note the group *beat, bang, mash, smash, crush*, etc.

blash, a sudden blaze or flame. 'Light sticks only make a blash,' 'His een blashed fire,' 'A fire into which paraffin had been thrown was said to blash up.' Note *blaze, flare, flash*, etc.

bumble, bungle, blunder, halt, stumble. 'He bummled on an' spoiled his work.' Note *bungle, fumble, jumble, stumble*, etc.

cangle, quarrel, wrangle, haggle, cavil. 'We may not stay now to cangle.' Called 'perhaps onomatopoetic,' in the *New English Dictionary*. Noted in *The Century Dictionary* as apparently a voiced frequentative of a verb *cank*, from *camp*, with possible Icelandic cognates. But cf. the group *cavil, quarrel, wrangle, jangle, haggle*, etc.

chelp, chirp, squeak, yelp, chatter. 'Children nowadays will chelp at you and sauce you,' 'The magpie chelps at ye.' Cf. *chirp, cheep, chatter, yelp.*

chirl, chirp, warble. 'The laverock chirlt his cantie sang.' Cf. *chirp, cheep, trill, shrill*, etc.

chittle, twitter, warble. 'The birds are chittlin' bonnily.' Cf. *cheep, chirp, twitter, warble.*

criggle, wiggle, creep, crawl, wriggle. 'I can feel 'un (the devil) just as if he was a-crigglin' and a-crawlin' in my head.' Cf. *creep, crawl, wiggle, wriggle.*

croodle, huddle, crouch, curl, cringe, cuddle, fondle. 'The lads croodled down,' 'Come to mother and 'er'll croodle yo.' Cf. *crouch, cuddle, huddle*, etc.

crunkle, rumple, crease. 'A yellow crunkled scrap.' Cf. *crinkle, crumple, crease, wrinkle, rumple*, etc.

flawp, go about vulgarly and ostentatiously dressed; also a name given an awkward slovenly person. 'Flaupen aboot frae mornin' ta neet,' 'A girt idle flawp.' Cf. *flaunt, flout, flip, flop, flirt, awkward*, etc.

flaze, flare up, blaze. 'This floor can't flaze, for it's made o' poplar.' Cf. *flare, flame, flash, blaze*, etc.

flerk, jerk about, flourish, flip or flop. 'Don't keep flerking that in my face.' Cf. *flourish, flip, flop, jerk.*

flump, fall heavily, or headlong; a fall accompanied by a noise. 'He went down such a flump,' 'A hawk flumps or flops as a bird'; 'He fell down full flump.' Cf. *fall plump, thump, bump*, etc.

friddle, trifle, potter, waste time. 'He was friddlin' on at his work.' Cf. *fritter, trifle, fiddle, frivol*, etc.

glumpish, glum, gloomy, sullen. 'Mary is glumpish to-day.' Noted in *The Century Dictionary.* Cf. *glum, gloomy, lumpish, dumps*, etc.

scrawk, scratch, scrawl, mark; also squeak, shriek, scream. 'Just scrawk yer pen through this.' 'Wha'dgee scrawk fur?' Cf. *scratch*, *mark*, *scrawl*; *scream*, *squall*, *squawk*, *shriek*, etc.

screek, shriek, scream, creak, make a grating noise. 'She skreek'd oot like a cat yawlin',' 'It skreeks so it gets my teeth on edge.' Cf. *shriek*, *scream*, *squeak*, *creak*, etc.

screel, cry, shriek, squeal, scream. 'What wi' screalin' wimmin.' Perhaps built from *scream*, *shriek*, *shrill*, *squeal*, etc.

scrowge, squeeze, press, crowd, crush. 'Such pushing and scrooging, you never seen the like,' 'What be all you childern a scrowgin' on that ther vorm vor?' Note *squeeze*, *screw*, *crowd*, etc.

snaggle, giggle, snicker. '"It must be a very fine game to have such a large score," I snaggle.' *Letters of a Japanese Schoolboy*, xxxvii, by Wallace Irwin. Cf. *snicker*, *giggle*, *gag*, *haggle*, etc.

snuddle, nestle, cuddle. 'Snuddled together like birds in a nest.' Built from *snuggle*, *cuddle*, *huddle*, etc.

troddle, toddle, go. 'The young things trodlin'.' Note *trudge*, *trip*, *trot*, *toddle*.

That words of this type are the special product of modern times or contemporary conditions is by no means to be assumed. They are likely to be as old in language history as are fusion forms, or hybrids, or composites in general. The words in the list cited are aggressively dialectal, it is admitted. Like all indefinite blends they tend to be telling, forceful words, not neutral; also they are predominantly rather ugly or unbeautiful formations. In words of special folk or dialect coinage there seems in general to be little striving for the attractive or agreeable. There is marked tendency toward the jocular; but still more characteristic is the focussing of interest in the *expressive*.

It is probable enough that the words in the short illustrative list cited are not especially well selected from the many that suggest themselves. No doubt some among them may be in origin direct amalgams, or contaminations; others may not really be amalgams at all; they may have had, for example, a purely onomatopoetic origin, or they may be loan words; or they may be mere accidental or capricious perversions of forms already in existence. But some are surely obscure blendings, or reminiscent amalgams, of the type under discussion.

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CONCERNING AN ASPECT OF CONCETTISMO.

THE problem of the origin and causes of that literary phenomenon which we call Seicentism, Gongorism, Preciosity, etc., presents two aspects which must be kept clearly distinct: the historical aspect and the philosophical aspect. The one regards the conditions which in a given period determine a peculiar florescence of the concetto in its various manifestations, to such an extent as to make of it the distinguishing feature of the age; the other regards the origins and the nature of that mental attitude toward life, which, in any age and in any country, produces a predilection for concettistic expression. Any discussion of the first must of course be based upon the second; for any specific instance of the predominance of the concetto in literary art will be due simply to special conditions favouring the development of the fundamental state of mind.

The deficiencies of the various designations currently applied to this phenomenon have frequently been pointed out: they all fail in using local terms for what is essentially a universal thing; Seicentismo is scarcely more characteristic of the seventeenth century in Italy than it is of the tenth century in France; no more conspicuous in Gongora or Marino than in Pliny the Younger. This fact eliminates at once the use of the methods borrowed by esthetic criticism from the school of biological evolution: we cannot explain the Seicento by studying Seicentismo in the Cinquecentisti; for it is obvious that these two occurrences, or any other two we might select, far from bearing to each other the relation of effect and cause, are but the product of underlying causes, identical in quality though varying in force for each. Temporal contiguity may indicate the trend of the causes; it does not reveal the causes themselves. These, in the last analysis, will be purely psychological; and we can arrive at an estimate of them by considering the real nature of the concetto as a process of thought, then by discovering the conditions which favour or inhibit such a process.

Now if we take a concetto of simple type, we find that it consists essentially in the use of analogy: between two objects, or two subjects, in reality distinct, an identity partial or complete is established by

comparing their points of similarity or contrast. It is obvious that this transference of thought, far from being vicious in essence, is rather a necessity of expression, revealing, as it does, the unknown in terms of the known. The rôle of this form of expression in human thought is enormous: it has made possible nearly all that is best in wit and humour and it remains in all ages one of the chief instruments of clarity and incisiveness themselves.

The virtue of this instrument consists precisely in its effectiveness for clarity and incisiveness: in other words, the concetto is an ideal type of expression when the analogy it utilizes is exact, and when the similarities on which it plays are real. Or, to state the situation in positivistic terms, the ideal image suggested by the concetto is forceful and true, when the analogy it sets up corresponds to the facts as they may be empirically established. If we take accordingly a concetto of the extreme type, it is seen that these conditions are not fulfilled. The analogy is drawn between objects the similarities of which are purely incidental. There is always a species of dualism in the mental state objectified: the thought is made intelligible by considerations wholly foreign to the objects suggested in the analogy; and is therefore complete without the presence of these objects; which remain present in the resulting mental state simply as distracting elements. The thought indeed is not intelligible at all until we have shaken it free from these objects and restated it in simpler and exact terms. In other words, there is involved in the analogy a logical fallacy, which consists in confusing the accident with the subject, treating the accident as the subject.

Now when the style of a given author affects preeminently the concetto of this first type, we call it epigrammatic; if the concetto of the second type prevails, we call it Seicentistic; nor is this distinction in connotation without its worth; since between the two there is an actual qualitative difference, namely that between logic and lack of logic, between sense and nonsense. This does not mean necessarily that Seicentistic art is bad; for clearly the noblest and most original concepts can be expressed in Seicentistic fashion. But in such a case, a correct esthetic judgement would recognize the duality of the expression, distinguishing the essential thought from the useless imagery in which it is involved.

It follows that if Seicentistic art has gone out of style, it is because the modern age has returned to a more intimate contact with reality, or at least with reality as we understand it. And I believe, in fact,

that if we were to follow through the ages the history of what we call Seicentismo, or better of concettismo, we should find the rise and decline of such forms of art accompanying closely the rise and decline of certain views of reality. For we must assume that in ages where the use of illogical analogy predominates, there must have been behind it the existence of some premise which stripped it of its illogical appearance; else innate common sense would have corrected its abuses. We have changed our notions of astrology and witchcraft by destroying to our own satisfaction the premises on which those aberrations rested. But if we admit the premises of our forefathers, we are obliged to follow on to their conclusions. And so, *mutatis mutandis,* for questions of esthetics and art.

Mr Santayana in his essay on Dante has admirably stated the two views of the empirical world which have prevailed in the philosophy of Western civilization down to the beginning of modern experimental science, the one regarding the universe as a body of facts to be explained by an investigation of causes, the other regarding it as a phenomenon to be exploited by discovering its purpose and its uses. In the second we are interested here; especially because it controlled through the Middle Ages and the Renaissance the Peripatetic movement, which in turn controlled the Church and through the clergy all branches of education. Let us remember also for the moment that in Catholic countries, the Council of Trent returned to a more tenacious affirmation of this philosophy, while in Protestant regions little progress was made in its overthrow for yet a hundred years or more; and that even in our own age, so far as religious dogma is influential, it tends to perpetuate a similar point of view.

It will be observed that this teleological view of the natural world in some of its tendencies is anti-scientific; in others, on the contrary, it is strongly stimulating to scientific research. If we see in the universe the working of a Divine Hand, which through the material world reveals itself to humanity, our approximation to a full vision of the divine nature will be more close in proportion as our knowledge of the material universe is more extensive and more exact. The hierarchies of every age have not been averse to studies of an encyclopedic character, whenever the gatherers of facts, the observers of phenomena have been willing to leave untouched those problems of causation to which dogma has already given an exhaustive answer. Teleology becomes unscientific only when it begins to treat the significance of the materials it has collected. Its categorical assignment of God as

the first cause, and its insistence that this answer is sufficient for all purposes of science, devitalizes at the outset all its erudition, all its empirical acquisitions; for it thus inhibits any inference as to the divine nature not provided for by dogma. The interpretation of the material world becomes a matter of dialectics, of introspection, to such an extent that the material world is subjectified and science becomes the hand-maiden of religion[1].

This introduction of the subjective element into the contemplation of the empirical universe means chaos and anti-science. A material phenomenon is no longer the resultant of certain causative forces which are fixed and unalterable; but is the resultant of a divine fiat, which can be intuited only after an intellectual process. Properly it cannot be considered a resultant at all, but rather the symbol, the reflection of a state of the divine mind. There is no adequate check on our guesses as to what this state may be. The significance of a given phenomenon may be diversely interpreted with equal logic by any number of observers; and the more subtle the observer, the more wanton will be his interpretations. In a world of symbolism the imagination reigns supreme. With a little acumen, anything may be the symbol of anything else. In our attempt to grasp, to arrive at a full intuition of a given object, we identify its accidents with the mental state that happens to be present in our minds. These various accidents are brought into relation with that mental state in any possible way. The objective sensation, in fact, serves merely to initiate a train of thought, which in its widest rambles is still associated with the original sensation which started it on its way.

This quest for a vision of the divine will in the chaos of subtleties is equally attractive in a more practical way. For it is a corollary of the teleological premise, that if in creation there exists a divine purpose, this divine purpose exists in relation to man. Of a certain portion of the material world the utility to man is sufficiently apparent; and in respect to this portion, the answer to the question of God's purpose in relation to man as expressed therein, is ready. For the rest of the universe, philosophy is thrown back on the same process of subjective speculation. To see the number of moral lessons that can be deduced from a single object one has only to follow the history of various themes through the writings of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. The vagaries of the Bestiaries and the Lapidaries are

[1] Philosophy itself has not been free from these shackles, nor has it helped science much in freeing itself from them. The dependence of idealistic philosophy on dogmatic teleology is apparent from the Cartesians down to Fichte and modern idealists.

nothing but exact parallels to the symbolical speculations we find in the more elegant dress of concettistic academic productions of modern epochs.

In illustration of this attitude toward the empirical world, may I cite from an unedited canzoniere of the Seicento, a sonnet or two, which will be found typical certainly of the age[1]?

La Cranatiglia.

Questo che mesto piange ed è pur fiore
E trova piede human che lo calpesta,
Merta ch' ogni alma pia lo porti in testa,
Anzi ch' ogni cristian l' habbia nel core;
Sacro panegirista del signore,
La tragedia di Cristo manifesta:
Sembra un avanzo di mortal tempesta,
Imago natural del suo fattore.
Che dico imago? Egli è il mio Cristo istesso:
Già col focil d' amor nel cor mel stampo
Per portar Cristo in fior nel cor impresso.
Per te, bel fior, di vivo fuoco avampo!
Deh fa, Cristo, il mio cor degno recesso,
Ove germoglia un Dio ch' è fior del campo.

It is not necessary to point out the symbolistic motive of this sonnet, nor is it possible to state the symbolistic intention more clearly than the author does himself. The constituent elements of the concetto, even in this playing about the similarities of the destiny of the flower with the life of Christ, are equally apparent. The essential thing is to note that the concetto depends for its existence on the symbolism, and that the poem ceases to be nonsense only when we admit the truth of the symbolistic method. As it is, the poem is not without merit, for the mood of religious melancholy is initiated and sustained by the symbolical contemplation of the plant.

What can be the possible rôle in this universe of a corn on the bottom of one's foot? The intelligent symbolist has a facile answer:

Sopra il Calo.

Atomo doloroso e punto inflato,
Che misuri a trafitte i passi miei,
Remora ossuta, o pure scoglio sei,
Sì spesso a naufragar è il piè guidato.
Napello delle piante avvelenato,
Di Vulcan sconzio germe io ti direi,
Zoppicante biastema, e in certe 'ohimei'
Della Stigia palude umor gruppato.
Ah di Stige non è, ch' è voce muta
Del cielo; e il mio tormento e ogni ferita
È simbolo fatal di mia caduta:
Passa al core il dolor e sì m' addita
Che se mi duole allor ch' il tempo muta,
Pur dorrei col dolor mutar la vita.

[1] Venice, Codex Correr, 254, p. 56 ff.

As we run down through this canzoniere we find similar sonnets on the kite (*Il volante*), the gun (*Il scioppo*), the grasshopper, the flea, the mosquito (*La zenzalla*), the fall of a Venetian campanile, a picture of the ox in the Presepio, the nails of the cross, and so on for some forty titles each more puerile than the other. Yet these are themes that are to be found in the works of recognized geniuses. One could cite an endless series from the *Adone* of Marino, from Achillini, from Stigliani, from Melosio, from Zoppio, to say nothing of the writers of the late Cinquecento. The symbolism is turned not necessarily to moralizations, but to love, to philosophy, to narration, to eulogy. The prevailing method is to objectify the mental state in terms of the material world, by finding in the material world suggestions of the mental state.

The popularity of these curious themes has been a matter of common observation, but critics have been more ready to condemn than to explain. If we put ourselves in a Peripatetic frame of mind, it is no longer a question of condemnation; for the mental insight that sees so many 'sensi perfetti,' so much 'alta dottrina' in the grandeurs of nature will *a fortiori* demonstrate its keenness the more in unravelling the subtle implications of the insignificant and the common-place phenomena that obtrude on every hand. By this expansion of the common things of life into idealistic realms of thought, the subjective universe is enriched and beautified *ad infinitum*. This may be only one element, but at least it is an important element in the formation of that sensualistic tendency so conspicuous in writers of this school.

It would be absurd to affirm that teleological philosophy is any more than one of the numerous causes of Seicentismo. But I would insist that this view of life interacts individually and collectively with those several other causes that have justly been assigned to concettismo. The search for novelty, placed by Belloni at the base of Seicentismo, the search for novelty of subject and novelty of form, is itself only a phase of the sensualistic impulse—the reaching out into the objective world to discover its recondite bearings on the spiritual life. The divorce of literature from reality that Rossi sees gradually developing during all the Renaissance is the teleological premise in action, the severance of literature from reality becoming more wide in proportion as the symbolistic process is carried to its remoter consequences. The doctrine of ornament and imitation, so well exposed by Croce, is the formalization and the acceptance of the symbolistic theory, operating on the classical heritage as an objective entity in itself and as, in a certain sense, a part of the material world. The political, economic and social

influences clear the ground from progressive tendencies antagonistic to dogma in which teleology lies entrenched. The development of empirical science, which in course of time will bear more solid fruits, in its beginnings enlarges the body of material fact without a corresponding development in theoretical treatment, which is still hampered by the restrictions of dogmatic tradition, and must turn inward upon itself. But all these forces (and their number could be much increased) contribute only to the quantitative aspects of Seicentismo.

This phenomenon, in its vicious manifestations will reproduce itself in localities and epochs widely separated, whenever we have wide erudition, an aggressive intellectual atmosphere and an external restriction on the scope of speculation, whenever, that is, the aggressive intellect is forced to interpret a body of facts according to theoretical standards not controlled by those facts. Far from representing intellectual decadence, Seicentismo represents intellectuality of great power. Its fallacy consists in cramming into a given circle of ideas consequences and refinements greater than those ideas can bear. As long as the natural field of such ideas remains incompletely explored, as long as the teleological premise suggests inferences that are logical, concettismo will be present, but within legitimate and logical limits. That is why Seicentismo is a recurrent and not a constant phenomenon, why vast intellects like that of Dante, though essentially concettistic, seem yet so vastly more alive than those of the versifiers of the seventeenth century. Conversely, the decline of Seicentismo corresponds either to a widening of the limits of thought with its essential type remaining unchanged, or to a fundamental revolution in thought as a whole.

I believe, finally, that in studying the Seicento we need to give more attention to its relations to the School and to the scientific movement, scrutinizing especially works like those cited above, where the movement reveals its true nature in clearest terms. I believe the whole movement to be rather one of logic and psychology than of rhetoric and genre evolution. The Seicento is not an aberration of taste but an aberration of thought, which was corrected not by a reform in art but by an emancipation of intelligence.

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NEW YORK.

AN ANGLO-NORMAN APOCALYPSE FROM SHAFTESBURY ABBEY.

THE manuscript in question consists of a rhyming version of the Apocalypse with a prologue and commentary, followed by a short dissertation on the effects of the Seven Deadly Sins. The language is Anglo-Norman[1] and the manuscript belongs to the middle of the fourteenth century. The text of the Apocalypse and commentary agrees substantially with a well-known French prose version which appeared in the first half of the thirteenth century[2]. The author of the poem, as the scribe tells us at the end of it, was William Giffard, Chaplain of the 'Church of St Edward,' the old name of Shaftesbury Abbey. The French language would be chosen in preference to Latin, for the benefit of the nuns, the majority of whom would not be expert Latin scholars, and the poetic form was adopted that the work might be more easily committed to memory[3].

There is no reason to suppose that the manuscript was removed from the Abbey until the Dissolution. Not much is known of its later history. It came to the present writer from the representatives of the late Mr Peter Alfred Taylor, sometime member for Leicester. Upon the fly-leaf one John Atridge has scribbled his name in a manner which suggests that he made use of the vellum to practise different forms of signature. Amongst Mr Taylor's papers is a document[4], dated Dec. 29, 1718, appropriating a pew in the church of South Weald, Essex, to Mrs Rebecca Taylor. At the foot 'John Atridge' signs as Churchwarden and the signature corresponds with some of those on the fly-leaf of the Apocalypse. It seems probable that the manuscript

[1] I have ventured to retain the old-fashioned expression 'Anglo-Norman' on the ground that the French language of England in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries was founded on the Norman-French introduced by the Conqueror. The term 'Anglo-French,' though it indicates the later contribution from French dialects other than Norman, fails to recognise the main source or the connection with the Norman Conquest.

[2] The present writer has endeavoured to show that the prose version was produced between 1239 and 1250; see *Modern Language Review*, vol. VII, 445.

[3] See the latter portion of the prologue quoted below, p. 343.

[4] British Museum, *Add. MS.* 37682, fol. 165.

passed from John Atridge to the family of Rebecca Taylor, to which Peter Alfred Taylor belonged. How Atridge became the owner of it is not known[1].

The manuscript, which was sewn together but coverless when acquired by its present owner, originally consisted of 87 leaves of vellum (being 10 quires of 8 leaves, followed by 7 leaves), measuring $8\frac{1}{8}$ by 5 inches, but the first leaf is missing. Four blank leaves have been bound with the book at the commencement, on the first of which are the signatures of John Atridge and on the second the words 'au noume du pere' in a mediæval hand. The Apocalypse, containing about 4600 lines, occupied the first 85 leaves and a page. The last three pages contain some lines on the author and the dissertation on the Seven Deadly Sins. The missing leaf contained part of the prologue. The rest of the prologue, the Scriptural text and the commentary are complete and legible throughout. The pages containing the commencement of chapters iv, viii, xii, xv, xviii and xxi of the Authorised Version have marginal illuminations in gold and colours. Probably these, with the illumination which no doubt decorated the missing first leaf, were intended to correspond with the Seven Visions of the Apocalypse[2]. The Scriptural text is divided into 81 sections with initial capitals coloured blue and decorated with flourishes in red extending into the margin, and each section of text is followed by its commentary, similarly distinguished. Text and commentary are differentiated by the initials. The text initials are confined to the vowels A, E, and I; the commentary initials to the consonants C, L, P, and S[3]. The commentary alone is divided into paragraphs by the sign ¶, alternately red and blue, and is thereby further distinguished from the Scriptural text.

[1] He was a butcher by trade and a landowner and died in 1741. The MS. is not mentioned in his will (*Wills proved in the Archdeaconry Court of Essex*, Principal Probate Registry, Godwin, 66).

[2] See the latter of the two portions of Giffard's prologue quoted below, p. 343.

[3] At first sight it seems remarkable that 162 sections should be represented by only seven denominations of initial-letter but the explanation is simple. Of the 81 sections of text, 72 begin with the letter E (generally representing *Et*) and this corresponds with our authorised version of the Book of Revelation in which the great majority of the verses begin with the word 'And.' Of the remainder, 6 sections begin with 'Apres,' 2 with 'Joe' and 1 with 'Johan.' Certain set phrases account for most of the commentary initials. C appears 25 times (e.g. 'Coe ke Seint Johan vit...signifie' &c.); P 24 times (e.g. 'Par les vint & quatre maiurs...sunt signefie' &c.); L 30 times (Le, Li, La, or Les); S once. The single exception to the rule is found in the last paragraph of the commentary which begins with 'Isci.' The same rule applies to MS. Charles V, the typical manuscript mentioned below, in which the sections are in some instances in shorter portions and number in all 202. The scribe of that manuscript begins the sections of his text with A, E, or I and, as a rule, the sections of his commentary with C, L, P, or S, but in 7 instances the sections of the commentary begin with a vowel. As in Giffard, the last section begins with I.

The only attempt at pictorial illustration is the figure of a dragon forming part of the design at the head of chapter viii, and small grotesque heads in black ink are inserted in initial letters here and there and in some of the catch-words connecting the quires. Perhaps the nuns of Shaftesbury helped to transcribe and illuminate the manuscript, for the abbey was under the Benedictine rule and the copying of manuscripts was one of the regular occupations of the nuns of that Order[1].

The manuscript begins with a prologue in rhyming couplets, of which the last 94 lines are preserved. Following the prologue, come the Scriptural text and commentary, also in rhyming couplets. Next follow eight lines by the scribe, giving an account of the author, and the manuscript ends with the short dissertation known by the title 'Effets des sept péchés capitaux,' the text of which will be found at the end of this article.

Eight other French manuscripts of the Apocalypse in verse are known; in these the Scriptural text only is in verse, the commentary, where it exists, being in prose. The Giffard manuscript differs from them in having text and commentary in verse. Seven of these manuscripts are described by M. Paul Meyer in *Romania*, xxv, 174. The eighth is described in *The Old French versified Apocalypse of the Kerr Manuscript*[2]. M. Paul Meyer, in conjunction with M. Delisle, has given an account of the prose manuscripts in *L'Apocalypse en français au XIII^e siècle*, published by the Société des Anciens Textes Français in 1901[3]. It is clear from a comparison of the Scriptural text and commentary of the Giffard manuscript with the other rhyming versions that, if all are based on the same prose version, as appears to be the fact, Giffard's poem was composed independently of the others. Giffard follows substantially the prose version of MS. fr. 403 of the Bibliothèque Nationale, a typical form of the thirteenth century Apocalypse and commentary, which MM. Delisle and Meyer have printed at length and have entitled 'MS. Charles V[4].' With this manuscript two others have been collated, viz. MS. Bibl. Nat. fr. 9574 (MS. 'B') and MS. Arsenal 5214 (MS. 'C') and the variations are given by M. Meyer.

[1] Montalembert, *The Monks of the West*, ed. Gasquet, v, 136.

[2] *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* (1903), N.S., vol. II, pp. 535—577.

[3] See p. ccxxvi for a list of the manuscripts. A longer list is given by Dr James in his introduction to the *Trinity College Apocalypse*, edited for the Roxburghe Club in 1909, but this list contains many Latin Manuscripts and many French ones (the Trinity College MS. itself included) which do not contain our French commentary. MM. Delisle and Meyer's work will be hereafter cited as 'Delisle and Meyer.'

[4] This MS. omits the prologue. M. Meyer thinks the omission accidental and gives a typical form of prologue from MS. Bibl. Nat. fr. 9574 (Delisle and Meyer, cclviii—cclx).

We take for comparison with Giffard the passage in the commentary referring to the Number of the Beast (ch. xiii, 18) which will show that Giffard was more concerned to follow the original than to produce good verses:

GIFFARD MS.

¶ Coe ke le numbre de sun nun, si cum einz dis,
Est sis centz & seisaunte & sis
Signefie ke ausint cum le fiz de jhesu (*sic*)
A sa venue pur nus sauver est & fu
Verai lumere ke tuz elumine & enbrace
Ceus ki en lui bien creient par sa grace,
Tut ausint auntecrist le fiz de perdiciun,
Quant il vendra od sa grant traisun
La pueple deu deceivre apertement,
Serra dit lumere fausement
Pur les granz vertuz ke il fra
E pur les granz essaumples ke il durra.
¶ E coe les lettres del numbre signefient
De sun nun & a tuz apertement le dient.
Car ceste lettre .d. signefie cink centz
E .c. autaunt cume un cent.
Par .l. puet lem cinquante entendre
E par .x. de dis le numbre rendre.
Par .v. puent cinc bien signefier
E un en numbre puet len par .j. demustrer.
Des ore mes les lettres de cest numbre joignez
E .j. entre .c. & .d. al joindre metz.
Si averez .dic. tut le mot en tier.
Mes entre .l. & .x. lessez .u. ester
Si averez .lux. pur veirs en latin
Ore avez del numbre tute la fin
Dunc puet lem dire ke le numbre de sun nun
Ki est sis cenz & seisaunte & sis par raisun.
Ki le veut par le sis lettres mercher e escrivere
Avant numez pur plus brefment en sun livere
Mettre en latin .dic. autant
Cume dic lux! & coe est en rumaunt

MS. CHARLES V
(Delisle and Meyer, p. 69)

Ceo qu'il dist que sun numbre est sis cenz sexante sis signefie que, ausi comme le fiulz Deu a sa venue por nus sauver fu &[1] est veraie lumiere qui enlumine[2] tuit ceus[3] qui bien croient en lui de sa grace, tout ausint le fiulz de perditiun, quant il vendra pur le poeple decevre & mener a perdiciun, sera dit lumiere fausement pur les vertuz qu'il fera & por essample qu'il donra; & ceo signefie les letres del numbre de sun nun, kar *d* signefie cinq cenz, *c* un cent, *l* cinquante, *x* dis, *v* cinc, *i* un. Ore juingnez les lestres de cest numbre & mestez *I* entre *D* et *C*, si[4] averez *DIC*; mettez *V* entre *L* e *X*, e averez *LUX*. Dunc pout l'en dire la numbre de sun nun, que est *DCLXVI*, dit autant comme *dic lux*, ceo est 'di[5] lumiere'; kar antecrist sera fausement dit lumiere, si comme Jhesu Crist veraiement est[6] lumiere.

[1] C omits *&*.
[2] B *eslumine*.
[3] BC *iceus*.
[4] BC *e*.
[5] C *oy*.
[6] BC *Jhesu Crist est veraie*.

Di lumere. kar auntecrist sera fausement
Apele lumere si cume est jhesu crist veraiement.

Except for a few additions made for the purpose of completing the verses or for the instruction of his readers, Giffard follows the Scriptural text of the prose version. One of his additions is found in the passage corresponding with chapter iii, verse 21 (A.V.):

Ki veintra jo le frai seer
Ove mei en mun throne et veer
Si cume jo ai vencu et sez od mun pere
En sun throne *veaunt ma mere.*

Again to the statement (ch. xiii, 16) that the Beast caused all men to receive a mark in their right hand or in their forehead, Giffard adds, as if it formed part of the Scriptural text, 'u le croiz deust estre.'

Giffard's prologue differs considerably from the prose version but is to some extent founded upon it. The lines, 65 in number, which intervene between the two portions quoted from Giffard below, correspond roughly with MS. Bibl. Nat. fr. 9574, but Giffard omits the last 2 lines of p. cclix and the first 18 lines of p. cclx, as printed by MM. Delisle and Meyer. Agreeing in this respect with the prose manuscripts, Giffard begins the Scriptural text of chapter i at verse 9: 'Johan vostre frere,' etc.[1] The portions of Giffard's prologue not contained in the prose version are as follows:

PROLOGUE (GIFFARD MS.)

. . . . . .

(The earlier portion is wanting)

Einz fu en sepulcre od le cors
E deske a enfern od lalme pur traire hors
Descendi a adam & a ses amis[2]
Ke deables aveit en sa prisun mis.
¶ Au tierz jor de mort releva
E as suens apertement se demustra
En cors & en alme od sa deite
Pus est veaunt tuz deske en ciel munte
Uil siet a la destre sun pere
E est nostre avocat & nostre frere.
¶ De il uek vendra al jugement
Pur rendre a chescun certeinement
Sulum co ke il avera deservi
Bien u mal tant cum il vesqui
Assuens durra joie & vie pardurable
E as autres peines de enfern od deable.

. . . . . .

[1] See above, vol. VII, p. 448.
[2] Cf. *The Gospel of Nicodemus*, chaps. XIII—XXII.

E des chapitres ki veut la cunte rendre
Vint e deus ia par acunter
Plus ne meins visent huem user
Mercherz serunt od les visiouns[1]
Sus en margene par devisiouns.
Des ci orrez la signifiance od lestoire
Bien eit ke les mettra ben en memoire.
¶ Seint johan lapostle comence a dire
Co ke il veeit & coment li sire
Par sa voiz le a monesta
De escrivre co ke illi demustra
E il nus a de par deu est livre escrit
De sa mein destre & de sei meimes dit
Johan vostre frere
E en tribulaciun parcenere . . . .

The prologue is found in the following manuscripts but none of them contains the passages just quoted:

British Museum.—Old Roy. 15 D II (fol. 104); 19 A II; 19 B XV; Harl. 4972; Add. 17399; Add. 38118 (Huth bequest).

Lambeth Palace.—MS. 75.

MS. of Mr Yates Thompson.

Bodleian.—Selden supra 38; Douce 180 (ends with ch. xvii v. 18); Linc. Coll. c. 16; New Coll. D 65; Univ. Coll. E 100.

Cambridge.—Univ. Lib. Gg. I i fol. 407; Corpus Christi Coll. 394.

Huth MS. (Lot 232 in Sotheby's catalogue of the Huth sale, 15 Nov. 1911[2]).

To these must be added two of the three manuscripts edited by MM. Delisle and Meyer, viz. Bibl. Nat. fr. 9574 and Paris Arsenal 5214. The third, MS. Charles V, has no prologue (see p. 340, note 4 above).

The earlier of the two portions of Giffard's prologue quoted seems to be part of a paraphrase of the Creed. From the reference to twenty-two chapters in the second portion one would expect to find corresponding divisions in the text. There is however no mark to distinguish the beginning of a chapter beyond the capital letter which denotes the beginning of a section or of the commentary on a section, each portion of text which corresponds to a chapter of the Authorised Version containing several sections[3].

An examination of Giffard's Scriptural text and commentary proves that he followed closely the French prose version. In several places he uses the expression 'cume le Latin dit[4],' which suggests that he had a

[1] 'E après tuit cest fet sa narraciun, dunt il fet sun livere, ke est partie en set visiuns' (MS. Charles V, Delisle and Meyer, cclx).

[2] This manuscript was sold at the auction for £3550.

[3] The initial letter of chapter i is larger than the ordinary section initial and the beginnings of chapters iv, viii, xij, xv, xviii and xxi are marked by an illuminated page.

[4] See also the line 'Le rumaunz a fet apres le latin,' quoted at p. 347 below.

Latin commentary as well as the French Version before him. It has been shown that many passages of the French prose version correspond with the Latin commentary of Bishop Haymo[1], and it seems clear that Giffard made use of the same or a similar Latin commentary. Proof of this is found in the fact that Giffard contains passages which are omitted in the majority of, perhaps all, the other French manuscripts, while a considerable quantity of the omitted matter is found in Haymo's commentary[2]. Giffard's additional passages are quoted here, together with the corresponding passages of Haymo where correspondence exists:

Giffard's additional passages.	Haymo
(1) *Commentary on ch. iv, verse* 6. Par la mer ke sembla veire E fu devant le sege a neire Est baptesme signefiez Le leve les genz de lur pechez Par la vertu de la mort jhesu crist Ki de sa grace tel poer imist.	(1) Per mare autem debemus intelligere baptismum.
(2) *Commentary on ch. viii, verse* 10. Par lesteille ke chei del ciel Est signefie le deable ennvius & cruel.	(2) Ipse autem designatur per stellam...antiquus videlicet hostis.
(3) *Commentary on ch. ix, verses* 20, 21. Par ces ki ne sunt occis de ces plaies des einz E ne unt fet penaunce des oeveres de lur meins Ke il aurassent deable & ydles de or & de argent Signefier puet trestut apertement Ke li mescreaunt & ceus de male vie Ke ci servent deable & ne se repentent mie Ne deu ne volent remistre ne honurer As peines de enfern vunt od deable saunz returner.	
(4) *Commentary on ch. xiv, verse* 12. Coe ke il dit ke ci est la pacience des seintz Ki gardent la fei & de deu les comaundementz Signefie ke par veraie fei & oevere de penaunce Est precheur rescus de peine infernal & receit vie saunz dutance.	

[1] See above, vol. VII, 448. Haymo's Commentary is in Migne, *Pat. Lat.* CXVII, 937.

[2] The French manuscripts examined are those mentioned on p. 343, together with Brit. Mus. Add. 18633 and Cambridge, Corpus Christi, 20, in both of which the Scriptural text is in rhyme and the commentary in prose. These make a total of 21 manuscripts. The following, contained in MM. Delisle and Meyer's list (p. ccxxvi), have not been examined: Bruxelles Bibl. Roy. 2e série 282, Paris Arsenal 5091, Bibl. Nat. fr. 375, Ditto 9575, Ditto N. acq. fr. 6883, Sémur Bibl. Municipale 41 (42). The Eton College MS. 177 in this list, having no commentary, is not available for comparison.

(5) *Commentary on ch. xviii, verses* 12—14.

Ke les merz signefient des biens celestiens
Ke par or est entendu sapience
E par argent devine eloquence.
Par perre preciuse est entendu jhesu crist
E par les gemes ses apostles ke il choist.
Le cheinsil signefie des seintz les justefiement
E le purpre verai pur deu martirementz.
Par la seie est entendu virginite
E la ruge colur riche signefie charite.
Le fust de tyin constaunce en bien est entenduz
E par les vesseus de yvoire beaute de vertuz.
Par le areun est entendu longaminute en latin
E par fer est entendu anguesce de sutil engin.
Le marbre signefie veraie humilite
U force de ferine de obedience a signefie.
Par canele & riches espees [espices] odur de bones vertuz
E par encens ureisuns des seintz sunt entenduz.
Les oignementz signefient de la deite le incarnaciun
E le vin de enyverer le evaungille ke nus lisum.
La uile signefie les graces del seint esperit
E la flur deugee la char jhesu crist
Dunt ses feeus se refunt en seinte iglise
Par le sacrement del autel deske al grant juise.
Par le cler furment est entenduz
Verai fei dunt nus sumes sustenuz.
Les juments les eslitz dampne deu signefient
E les berbiz ses disciples resignefient.
Les chevaus signefient les precheurs deu en seinte iglise
E les serjauntz ceus qui sunt suzgetz a sun servise.
Par les pumes de desir sunt entenduz
Les delitus fruz de tutes vertuz.
Par les choses grasses & cleres ke perissent
Sunt entenduz espiriteus leesces ke aveentissent
A tuz ceus ke trop eiment ces munde a tort
E pur coe se tendrunt forment quant il vendrunt a la mort
Kar dunc a parceverunt veraiement
Ke les duns de grace userent fausement.

(5) In auro itaque radians sapientia significatur, de qua scriptum est: *Accipite sapientiam sicut aurum.* Argenti autem nomine sacra figurantur eloquia. De quibus Psalmista dicit: *Eloquia Domini eloquia casta, argentum igne examinatum* (Ps. xi). Lapidis vero vocabulum cum singulari numero ponitur, ipse Salvator omnium per eum designatur, de quo scriptum est: *Ecce pono in Sion lapidem summum angularem electum pretiosum, et qui crediderit in eum non confundetur* (1 Pet. ii). Cum autem plurali numero inseritur, membra ejusdem Redemptoris per eum figurantur, quibus Apostolus Petrus dicit: *Et vos tanquam lapides vivi superædificamini domos spirituales* (1 Pet. ii). Margaritæ etiam nomine, in singulari numero Dominus Jesus Christus; in plurali vero apostoli ejusdem figurantur. De quibus in hac eadem apocalypsi dicitur: *Et duodecim margaritæ sunt per singulas* (Apoc. xviii). In bysso vero justificationes sanctorum intelliguntur. In purpura martyrium. In serico virginitas. In cocco vera charitas. In ligno thyino, ac pretioso, constantia durabilis. In ebore virtutum pulchritudo. In ære fortitudo et longanimitas, vel certe prædicationis sonoritas. In ferro subtilitatis acumen. In marmore invicta humilitas....Per cinnamomum quippe et amomum, odor designatur virtutum....In diversorum vero odoramentis pigmentorum et thure, orationes exprimuntur sanctorum....Unguenti quoque nomine ipsa divinitas incarnatur intelligitur....Per vinum quippe novum designatur testamentum, quod auditorum mentes debrians, mundi concupiscentiis insensibiles reddit, unde Dominus in nuptiis aquam vinum fecisse narratur. Quid autem per oleum nisi unctio Spiritus sancti figuratur?...Per similem vero et triticum caro Redemptoris nostri exprimitur, qua fideles quotidie sanantur.... Jumenta quippe electos significant, qui cum Psalmista dicunt: *Ut jumentum factus sum apud te* (Ps. lxxii). Oves quoque sanctos exprimunt quibus Dominus ait: *Ecce ego mitto vos sicut oves in medio luporum* (Matt. x). Et Petro dicitur: *Pasce oves meas* (Joan. xxi). Sed et equorum vocabulo prædicatores intelligi nulli dubium est, dicente propheta: *Misisti in mare equos tuos*....Mancipiorumque vocabulo ipsi exprimuntur electi, qui toto mentis desiderio Dei se subjiciunt servituti, in cujus potestate

(6) *Commentary on ch. xxii, verse* 15.

Mortel e pere & mere ne averunt honurez
En cest vie si cume deu lad en sa lei comaundez
Dunt ceus de egypte pur coe ke ne emplirent cest comaundement
Furent flaelez cume chiens de deu omnipotent
Par une manere de musches ki sunt chenine
E cynomies[1] sunt apelez en exode en lei divine.
Kar chiens resemblent tuz ceus ki mordent de lur denz
Les uns & les autres par detractiun ausi cum de autres gentz.
Par malice mes dient de pere & de mere
E ne desportent hautz nevas ne suer ne frere.

consistere se noverunt....Poma vero in sacro eloquio virtutes sanctorum significant....*Et omnia pinguia*: id est crassa; *et præclara perierunt a te et amplius illa jam non invenient.* Ista ad gustum vel gastrimargiam redigenda videntur. Hæc itaque omnia, quæ secundum quinque corporis sensus reprobi tractant, pereunte mundo deplorant, quia nesciunt aliud cogitare, nisi quæ exterius considerant. Et dum vident alios transire per mortem et afflictionem ab hac vita, ipsi eorum superstites interitum illorum qui mundi gaudium reliquerunt, deplorant, timentes ne sibi similia eveniant.

MS. Charles V shows on the face of it[2] that even if the copyist had the above passages numbered (1), (3), (5), and (6) before him he could not insert them for want of space, and this might point to their having existed in an earlier manuscript. On the other hand there is the fact that the great majority of the French manuscripts, perhaps all, omit these passages, and it seems unlikely that Giffard had access to a version denied to all the other scribes. It seems probable, therefore, that Giffard himself constructed the additional passages with the aid of a Latin text. This view is confirmed by a reference to some of the 14th and 15th century English translations of the French commentary, none of the additional passages being found in the following English manuscripts which have been examined:

British Museum.—Roy. 17 A xxvi; Harl. 171; Harl. 874; Add. 5901.

Bodleian.—Laud 33; Laud 235.

Cambridge.—Magd. Coll. F. 4. 5; Pepys 2498.

A comparison of Giffard's text with the three published by MM. Delisle and Meyer shows that Giffard had access to at least two of the three, viz. MS. Charles V and MS. Bibl. Nat. fr. 9574 or to corresponding manuscripts. Giffard's division into sections differs from that of MS. Charles V and agrees with MS. 9574. The passage 'Qui a oreilles de oir oie ces que l'Esperit dit as eglises,' which occurs four times in MS.

[1] κυνόμυια, dog-fly; Exod. viii, 22, Septuagint.

[2] This manuscript has been reproduced in phototype by the Société des Anciens Textes Français.

Charles V (ch. ii, 11. 17; iii, 6. 13), is omitted in every instance by MS. 9574 and Giffard, and other passages or phrases found in MS. Charles V, but wanting in MS. 9574 and Giffard, might be cited. On the other hand there are many phrases in Giffard which are found in MS. Charles V and not in 9574.

As MS. Charles V is the oldest of its class extant, so also it would seem to have been the source of the other known manuscripts. This is suggested by the fact that we find in MS. Charles V the portion of Scripture (ch. xviii, 12—14) on which the above additional passage no. (5) is a commentary, whereas in all the other prose manuscripts referred to above, both Scriptural text and commentary are wanting[1]. It looks as if the scribes who followed MS. Charles V, when they found no commentary on those verses, omitted the verses themselves. Giffard, following MS. Charles V, inserted the verses and supplied the commentary from Haymo or some other similar Latin commentary.

The following lines are at the end of Giffard's Apocalypse:

Cest livere treita willame giffard
Chapelein del iglise seint edward
Pur deu loer & tute seinte iglise
A solaz de tuz ceus ke eiment sun servise.
Le rumaunz a fet apres le latin
Des le comencement deske a la fin.
La signefiaunce imist a pres lestoire.
Deus eit lalme de lui & nus la memoire.
A m e n.

It would seem that the scribe was a member of the community to which Giffard had formerly belonged and that the latter was dead before the transcript was made.

In a previous article[2] it has been pointed out that several passages in the commentary of the French prose version seem to have a bearing on contemporary events. Giffard adopts these passages with some variation. A comparison of the following extracts will show how far he differs from the prose version:

MS. Charles V.	Giffard MS.
Commentary on ch. ix, verses 1, 2.	
subtil heresie.	sutil mescreaunce.

[1] Add. MS. 5901 (English) contains verses 12—14 of ch. xviii without the commentary on them, but the Scriptural text of this manuscript is entirely separate from the commentary and according to a note on the fly-leaf was transcribed from Harl. MS. 5017, an old English version of part of the Bible, without commentary, and unconnected with the French Apocalypse. MS. 5901 is a late transcript (about 1700) and includes a translation of the French commentary separate from the Scriptural text.

[2] See above, vol. VII, 448, 451.

Commentary on ch. xiii, verses 14, 15.

Ceo que cil sunt ocis qui ne voelent aorer le ymage signefie que erranment sunt escomigez et tenuz meintenant por rebelles cil qui ne voelent consentir au mauves prelaz[1].

Coe ke ele fist ke tuz ceus seient oscis
Ke ne volent aourer le ymage ne oir ses ditz
Signefie ke tut erraunt sunt escumenger
Tut erraunt de lur chateus robbez
Cil ki ne se volent tantost cunsentir
As mauveis prelatz ne fere lur pleisir.

Commentary on ch. xiv, verses 9—11.

li faus prelat & li faus clerc.

li faus prelat & les ypocrites.

Commentary on ch. xvi, verse 13.

la fause doctrine de ces preescheors et des herites.

la fause doctrine de ces precheurs.

Commentary on ch. xvi, verse 14.

Tut ausi avient il ore en S. Glise que li diables, par faus prelaz et faus clers, fet miracles et marveilles[2].

Tut ausint avient ore suvent en seinte iglise
Ke li deables, par faus prelates, tut a devise,
Fet miracles & grantz merveilles appareir.

Giffard's omission of the reference to heretics in the passages quoted suggests that he had less in mind the south of France where heresy had been rampant[3] than England where it hardly gained a foothold in the thirteenth century. His omission of false clerks makes the reference to false prelates more pointed and it looks as if in the commentary upon chap. xiii, verses 14 and 15, he was aiming at that oppression of the English Church by papal legates and nuncios and foreign bishops in the middle of the thirteenth century which helped to bring about the revolt of the barons. It may be that the author of the prose version had the same object in view, though, taken as a whole, that version seems to be the work of some one who is more concerned with the affairs of the continent than with those of England[4].

The name of William Giffard, the chaplain, is not to be found in the Shaftesbury Register (Harl. MS., 61) but the family to which he probably belonged was one of note. Hugh Giffard, who married Sibyl, daughter and coheiress of Walter de Cormeilles in the first year of Henry III, was Constable of the Tower of London in 1234 and subsequently had the custody of the king's children. Hugh Giffard died in 1246 in his

[1] Bibl. Nat. fr. 9574 has: 'signefie que errant sunt escomigez errant sunt robez cil que ne voelent consentir as faus prelaz e mauveis.'

[2] As an example of such a miracle the commentator goes on to relate how an infant, who cannot guard an apple, is made the guardian of thousands of souls, alluding to the practice of appointing children to benefices and even to bishoprics (see above, vol. VII, 452, note (1)).

[3] See above, vol. VII, 460.

[4] See above, vol. VII, 460—468; M. Meyer thinks that the author of the original work was French—perhaps Norman (Delisle and Meyer, ccvii, ccx).

wife's lifetime and left the following children, amongst others: Walter, Archbishop of York and sometime Chancellor of England, who died in 1279; Godfrey, who succeeded his brother as Chancellor and afterwards held the bishopric of Worcester for thirty-three years, dying in 1302; William, Sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk in 1272, who died between 1300 and 1302; Mabel, Abbess of Shaftesbury from 1291 to the time of her death in 1302. These Giffards were kinsmen of Baron Giffard of Bromsfield, a valiant soldier and son of Elias Giffard, one of the barons who resisted King John. Members of both branches of the family owned lands in the neighbourhood of Shaftesbury and the names of several of them appear in the Shaftesbury Register[1].

There is an entry in the records which may possibly refer to William Giffard the chaplain of Shaftesbury. In April 1242 letters patent issued for conferring upon 'William Giffard, son of Hugh Giffard' some church in the King's gift of the value of from 20, 30, 40, or 50 marks a year[2]. This William, an ecclesiastic, cannot have been the William, son of Hugh and Sibyl mentioned before, because the latter William was certainly a layman when advanced in years, his wife and son being named as legatees in Bishop Godfrey Giffard's will, and his son being referred to as the bishop's heir. It is not impossible, however, that Hugh should have had two sons named William, especially if the elder of them had been devoted to the Church. Hugh was a member of the king's household and he and his wife were special objects of the royal bounty at this time. In June 1239 the king's first child was born. In March 1241 the king granted to Sibyl, the wife of Hugh Giffard, an annuity of £10 for life in consideration of her good service to the Queen at the time of her first child-bearing[3]. In April 1242 a writ of protection was granted to Hugh Giffard so long as he should have the custody of Edward, the king's son[4]. In the same year Hugh Giffard received a royal grant of 30 marks to marry his daughter[5]. There is no record of any other Hugh Giffard at the time in special favour with the king, who, as successor to Alfred, the founder, exercised certain prerogatives over the Abbey of Shaftesbury. The king's consent was necessary to the appointment of the abbess and the convent was bound to furnish a pension for one of his clerks upon the occasion[6]. The king's influence

[1] See *Dict. Nat. Biog.*; Foss, *Judges of England* and *Biographia Juridica*; *Shaftesbury Register* (Harl. MS. 61); Dugdale, *Monasticon*; *Registers of Bishop Godfrey Giffard and Bishop Ginsborough* (Worcestershire Historical Society); *Calendars* of the Public Records.

[2] *Cal. Patent Rolls*, 1242, 283.

[3] *Ibid.* 1241, 247.

[4] *Ibid.* 1242, 280.

[5] Devon, *Issues of the Exchequer*, 30.

[6] *Close Rolls*, 13 Edward III, Pt. 2, m. 14 d; and see *Victoria Hist. of Dorsetshire*, II, 76.

would have weight on the appointment of a chaplain to the abbess and a chaplaincy might be conferred on the royal nominee if a benefice were not available. The chaplains of Shaftesbury occupied an important position in the establishment, for the charters of the abbess were granted 'consensu communi nostri et capellanorum nostrorum' (Harl. MS. 61). These facts point with some probability to a family connection between William Giffard the chaplain and Hugh Giffard the tutor of Edward I.

With regard to the chaplain's version of the Apocalypse, the date proposed for its composition is after the middle of the thirteenth century and not many years after the production of the French prose version. The manuscript in which it comes down to us, judging by the inscription to the author, must have been written after his death, and the date fixes itself by the handwriting in the middle of the fourteenth century.

In his commentary on ch. xvii, 9, Giffard, following the prose version, tells us that the seven mountains on which the scarlet woman sits signify 'les set mortel pechez.' Below, is the text of the dissertation on this subject with which the manuscript ends[1]:

Orguil fet home	Avanter sei des biens quil nat mie en sey Feindre sei autre quil ne seit Cuntrover noveleries Estriver saunz bosoign Inobedient a deu & sun proesme Fet home porvers & contrarius Tencer saunz acheisun.
Envie	Fet home fere detractiun de sun proesme Aver joie dautri mal Hair les biens dautri Grocer pour autre avauncement Estre homicide Estre de amer corage Depraver autri biens.
Ire	Fet home enfler Forsaner Crier Eschamer sun proesme Manascer Reprucher Avoegle lentendement quil ne pusse entendre verite.

[1] Cf. M. Meyer's article on the Manuscripts of Trinity College, Cambridge (*Romania*, xxxii, 40), in which this dissertation, known as 'Effets des sept pechez capitaux' is discussed. The manuscripts known to the present writer are Trinity Coll. Camb. B. 14; 39, 40, fo. 81 and Emmanuel College I, 4, 4; 83.

Accidie	Fet home enure [enuie?] de chescun bien & de sa vie Pensaunt & pecus [precius?] & sompnolent Neggligent en co ke il deit fere Pourus plus quil nait mester Plentiuus de pesaunte chiere Meinte feiz en des espeir Estre sanz solaz del seint espirit.
Avarice	Fet home purpenser noveleries coment il pusse decevir sun proesme Desirer la mort sun proesme Mentir & parivrer & tesmoiner faus Embler e ravir atort Losenger les mauveis Cunsentir a tuz pechez Duner faus jugement.
Lecherie	Fet home ord en cors & en alme Puir devant deu & ses aungles Fol de sage devenir Parler de ordure & de vilanie Penser de mal Blaundir & losenger Enchace le seint espirit e dissolt & desafeit.
Glotonie	Fet home ublier deu Destrut naturels biens Abrege la vie del home Tout sen & memoire A menuse la force & la biaute del cors Engendre yveresce ke rien ne fet celer Fet home jangler & pro...[1] abhominaciun.

J. C. Fox.

Streatley-on-Thames.

[1] The Emmanuel College MS. has *pronuncier*.

FOUR CHANSONS DE GESTE: A STUDY IN OLD FRENCH EPIC VERSIFICATION.

THE use of the strophe is the most obvious and most important metrical characteristic of the Old French epic; the formal trait that most sharply differentiates it from the classic and English epic, the determining cause of many of its idiosyncrasies. A strophe system offers some advantages to the epic poet—it lends itself admirably to the representation of isolated scenes, to the working up of an emotional crisis—but its use for narrative purposes is fraught with great difficulty. Long drawn out strophes tend to lose all individuality and become wearisomely monotonous; short ones are equally apt to produce a jerky effect and give a disconcerting sense of stopping and starting, strangely out of place in narrative on a large scale. To all epic poets using this metrical form the combination of smoothness and continuity of story with sufficient variety is a problem difficult enough to tax their technical skill to the utmost. The authors of the Chansons de Geste, doubtless, disposed of one of the most favourable types of strophe systems but even the freedom and elasticity of the irregular, mono-assonancing 'laisse' could not save them from this inherent difficulty. They overcame it or evaded it in widely different ways.

Many made their task singularly light. Intent only on telling their story, the later writers secured continuity at the cost of the epic form, putting in place of the strophe long irregular stretches of lines cut short arbitrarily, when their vocabulary failed to supply new words for assonance or rhyme. Others however, the earlier poets, could not be content with so easy a solution of the problem. To them the epic was not merely a chronicle of deed, it was still a form of poetry to be sung; the strophe a thing of account in itself, possessing a certain completeness, 'a beginning, a middle and an end.' Continuity of narrative had to be secured without the sacrifice of the singable quality of the verse; the strophe must take its place as a link in the

story, but it must also be so handled as to retain something of its individuality, its lyric possibilities.

No light task was set the poets here and only one poet achieved it completely—the author of the *Chanson de Roland.* In many passages of other Chansons de Geste partial success is obtained but it is Turold[1] alone that overcomes all the difficulties of the system of versification of his time; it is the *Chanson de Roland* alone that reveals the metrical possibilities of the 'laisse.'

Close study of Turold's technique of versification must therefore serve to throw considerable light on the aims and methods of the Old French poets; a comparison between the way he has handled his versification and the methods employed by the makers of the earlier *Chanson de Willelme* and of the later *Aliscans* and the *Lorrains* may make clear some of the stages in the history of the Old French epic.

A. The 'Chanson de Roland.'

The technical problem set Turold is the adaptation of the strophe to continuous narrative—in other words the adaptation of a form of verse that is lyric in function to epic purposes—and that without the sacrifice of its individuality. In his solution Turold appears to me to rely mainly on two devices:—skilful variation in the construction of the strophe and calculated use of repetition. By his method of construction of the strophe he adapts it to narrative purposes, by the use of repetitions he keeps something of its lyrical quality. The two methods are not sharply separated however. The structure of the strophe often serves to bring out the underlying emotion while the repetitions not infrequently link together parts of the narrative.

I. *Structure of the Strophe.*

According to the poet's ordinary practice strophe and incident coincide, one strophe containing one incident or definite portion of an incident, one incident fitting into one strophe. Change of assonance thus regularly marks an advance in the story. Deviations from this practice are comparatively rare and always calculated.

Composite strophes, i.e. strophes containing two or more themes, fall into two well marked groups. Sometimes for the purposes of quick narrative the poet summarises several comparatively unimportant occurrences.

[1] I assume here, without discussion, that Turold is the author of the *Roland.*

Thus strophe XI[1] contains the summarised description of the entertainment of the pagan messengers and the emperor's procedure before the convening of his court; in LV the poet brings before us in quick succession the departure of Charlemagne, the raising of Roland's standard and the march of the pagans; CLXXXIX narrates the summons to Baligant and all his preparations, and the most marked instance of all, CCLXXIII, combines in one strophe the brief description of the garrisoning of Saragossa, and all the stages of the return journey, including the disposal of the coffins and of the oliphant.

A variety of this type is seen in the few strophes in which an incident, complete in itself, is preceded or followed by several lines of a description or summarised statement of insufficient weight to form a strophe to themselves, e.g. LXVIII, a 'composite' strophe introduced by a description of foregoing events.

CCXLIV, containing a description of Baligant's army preceded by the account of his own action.

CIX and CX (separated in Digby MS.), in which the description of the battle is followed by a succinct summary of events to come.

CXXVII, a 'composite' strophe containing the conversation of Roland and Oliver about Turpin and the account of their deeds of prowess, followed by a summarised account of the numbers of the slain and the course of the five onslaughts.

CLV, Turpin's prowess and the summarised attestation of it in the 'geste.'

The second group of composite strophes consists of those containing two incidents of about equal importance linked together by assonance to indicate closeness of connection. Occasionally the relation between them is indicated by the use of an introductory formula (e.g. 'A icez moz'), at other times it is left to be gathered from the general tenor of the passage.

To this second set belong: LXXVIII containing Chernuble's boast and the immediate assembling and arming of the pagans (cf. l. 990 'A icez moz li XII per s'alient'), LXXIX the description of the pagan pomp and clamour and consequent discovery by the French ('Granz est la noix si l'oirent Franceis'), CXXVII Roland and Oliver's conversation about Turpin's prowess and return to his assistance ('A icest mot l'unt francs recumencet'), CCXXVIII, CCXXIX (separated in Digby MS.) Charlemagne's prayer and immediate preparations for the battle, CCXCV the judgment of the hostages and their immediate execution.

Of this same type also is strophe XX containing the designation of

[1] The edition used is Groeber's reproduction of the Oxford MS. in the *Bibliotheca Romanica*.

Ganelon by Roland and the consequent emotion and bitter speech of the former. It is a strophe that has been the subject of much discussion. It is intact only in the Digby MS.; all other MSS., both V[4] and the *Roman de Roncevaux*, break it up and separate its parts. Its structure too is unusual, for the chorus-like speech of the French ('Dient Franceis: Car il le poet ben faire') in line 278 is unique in an internal position[1]. But M. Bédier[2] has recently vindicated the order found in the Digby MSS. and indeed in a scene like this in which the poet is concerned to show us the suddenness of Ganelon's emotion—emotion breaking through all the habitual restraints of the decorum observed by the emperor's barons —the unusual linking of motives is entirely in accordance with the practice we have just observed. A similar failure to observe the poet's purpose has led the remanieurs on to an equally mischievous separation of the parts of strophe CXXVII[3].

Much less frequent than the combination of two or more themes in a strophe is the overflow of a theme into a second strophe. The Digby MS. offers three examples only—all speeches. Of these, two are by Ganelon (XXII, XXIII, and XLIV, XLV), one by Baligant (CCXXXIII, CCXXXIV). The poet's purpose is perhaps less clearly intelligible but a desire to emphasise the importance of the occasion may have led to his adoption of an unusual procedure. All three speeches mark crises in the action. In the first Ganelon expresses his hatred of Roland and acceptance of the emperor's commission, in the second he incites Marsilius against Roland. Baligant's speech has less significance for the action but it emphasises the importance of the death of Roland.

II. *The Strophe Beginnings.*

The strophe beginnings are as a rule quite simple and straightforward. The new incident is entered upon without pomp or ceremony:

V, l. 62. Li reis Marsilie out sun cunseill finet.
VII, l. 89. Dis blanches mules fist amener Marsilies.
IX, l. 122. Blancandrins ad tut premereins parled.
XII, l. 168. Li emperere sen vait desuz un pin.

Very frequently (in some 60 strophes) the strophe begins with a speech—a practice that obviously minimises the break made by the change of assonance. Another device, used however more sparingly

[1] Cf. below. The only other example of a speech of this type in similar position is that of line 3299, in a strophe which ends with a corresponding pagan speech.
[2] In his *Légendes Epiques*, III, pp. 462–469.
[3] Cf. Bédier, *op. cit.*, pp. 473, 4. On the other hand the Digby MS. joins on wrongly ll. 1620–7 to strophe CXXV. These lines are clearly out of place in this position as the Saracens described in them as put to flight, appear still fighting in the next laisse.

by the *Roland* poet than by the majority of epic writers, is the so-called 'linking of strophes'—the bridging over the break of assonance by the repetition in slightly varied form of the substance of the last few lines of the preceding strophe.

The clearest example of the linked laisses are LXXVIII, LXXIX, CXII, CXIII, CXLVIII, CXLIX, CLX, CLXI.

993. Vunt s'aduber desuz une sapide.
994. Paien s'adubent des osbercs sarazineis, etc.
1448. Li reis Marsilie od sa grant ost lor surt. Aoi.
1449. Marsilie vient par mi une valee.
1998. A icest mot sur sun cheval se pasmet. Aoi.
1999. As vus Rollant sur sun cheval pasmet.
2162. Paien s'en fuient, puis si-l laisent ester;
Li quens Rollanz i est remes a pied. Aoi.
2163. Paien s'en fuient, curucus et irez, etc.
2853. Si sunt vedeir le merveillus damage
En Rencesvals, la o fut la bataille. Aoi.
2855. En Rencesvals en est Carles venuz.

Slighter examples are found on a few occasions elsewhere[1]. The poet evidently has recourse to the plan when he passes on to a new theme in the last line or two of his laisse, the following laisse adding the detailed treatment.

More rarely the poet prolongs the pause between the incidents by the use of a line or passage, descriptive either of one of the characters or of the setting of the action. Often in such lines he strikes, as it were, the keynote of the strophe, or the poem, and thus emphasises the underlying emotion:

24. Blancandrins fut del plus saives paiens
De vasselage fut asez chevaler
Prozdom i out pur sun seignur aider.
1093. Rollanz est proz et Oliver est sage.
Ambedui unt merveillus vasselage.
156. Bels fut li vespres et li soleilz fut cler.
1807. Esclargiz est li vespres et li jurz
Cuntre le soleil reluisent cil adub.
Osbercs e helmes i getent grant flabur
E cil escuz ki ben sunt peinz a flurs.
E cil espiezz, cil oret gunfanun.
And cf. ll. 2512, 2646, 3345, 3658.
1320. La bataille est merveilluse et cumune.
1413. La bataille est merveilluse et pesant.
814. Halt sunt li pui et li val tenebrus
Les roches bises, les destreiz merveillus.
1830. Halt sunt li pui e tenebrus e grant
Li val parfunt e les ewes curant.
And cf. l. 2271.

[1] Cf. laisses IX, X, CLVI, CLVII, CLXIX, CLXX, CLXXVI, CLXXVII.

III. *The Strophe End.*

The treatment of the strophe end is much more varied. It is fashioned more deliberately to emphasise or diminish the break, to retard or accelerate the onward march of events or bring out their emotional significance. Termination of incident and simple conclusion of strophe occur in some 80 strophes, e.g.:

end VIII. Et li message descendirent a pied,
Sil saluerent par amur e par bien.
IX. Blancandrins ad tut premereins parled.
end XXVI. Puis li livrat le bastun e le bref.
XXVII. Guenes li quens sen vait a sun ostel.

More frequently still (in some 135 strophes) the poet profits by his dramatic way of telling the story to make the strophe end with a speech or remark of one or some of the personages and so minimise the metrical break. Often the speech is of the nature of a comment upon the proceedings—a line or half line expressing the approval or disapproval, the sorrow or rejoicing of one of the characters or their followers—and so introducing a curiously refrain-like effect:

1274. Dist Olivier: 'Gente est nostre bataille.'
1280. Dist l'arcevesque: 'Cist colp est de baron.'
1288. Ço dist Rollanz: 'Cist colp est de produme.'
243. Dient Franceis: 'Ben ad parlet li ducs.'
1579. Dient Franceis: 'Deus quel doel de baron.'
1604. Dient Franceis: 'Barun tant mare fus[1].'

No inconsiderable number of strophes end with a line descriptive of some gesture or bodily posture. In this physical way the poet at times, as it were, gives a summary impression of the scene, at others he strikes the keynote of the following strophe or emphasises the pity of it all:

138. Baisset sun chef si cumencet a penser. Aoi.
302. Quant l'ot Rollanz, si cumencat a rire. Aoi.
724. Carles se dort, qu'il ne s'esveillet mie.
Sur sun genoill en fiert sun destre guant.
And cf. ll. 736, 2569.

And more frequently:

773. Ne poet muer que des oilz ne plurt.
825. Pitet l'en prent, ne poet muer n'en plurt. Aoi.
1988. A icest mot sur sun cheval se pasmet. Aoi.
2788. Et Baligant cumencet a penser
Si grant doel ad, por poi qu'il n'est desvet. Aoi.
And cf. ll. 2022, 2415–8, 2880, 2891, 2908, 2932, etc.

[1] Cf. also 61, 77, 88, 156, 424, 450, 467, etc.

The rare interventions of the poet occur most frequently at the conclusion of a strophe—e.g., the appeals to the audience introduced by 'As vus!'; the few aphorisms or remarks of a general character that he permits himself:

412. A tant as vus Guenes et Blanchandrins. Aoi!
1187. Francs e paiens as les vus ajustez. Aoi!
2009. Par tel amur as les vus desevred. Aoi!
167. Par cels de France voelt il del tut errer. Aoi.
2524. Mult ad apris ki bien conuist ahan. Aoi.
3657. Mult ben espleitet qui damne deus aiuet. Aoi.
3959. Ki hume traist sei ocit et altroi. Aoi.

Lines like these round off the strophe, and emphasise the break of incident; others strike a note of foreboding and so introduce something of the refrain effect noticeable in some of the descriptive lines placed at the strophe beginnings:

9. Nes poet guarder que mals ne l'i ateignet. Aoi.
179. Des ore cumencet le cunseill que mal prist. Aoi.
716. Deus, quel dolur, que li Franceis nel sevent. Aoi.
1806. Deço qui calt? Çar demuret i unt trop. Aoi.
1840–1. Deço qui calt? Car ne lur valt nient.
Demurent trop, n'i poedent estre a tens. Aoi.
3577–8. Ceste bataille nen est mais destornee.
Seinz home mort ne poet estre achevee. Aoi.
3913–4. Il ne poet estre qu'il seient desevrez.
Seinz home mort ne poet estre afinet. Aoi.

IV. *Repetitions.*

Apart from the strophe linking already considered, the repetitions fall into two main divisions—the repetitions due to recurrence of situation and those employed to secure emotional effects.

The simplest form, the literal repetition of a message or speech, is not found in the *Roland*. The terms offered by Marsilies are indeed stated three times (in laisses III, X, XIII) but always in slightly varied form and on a different assonance. On the other hand a certain number of lines do double duty. The characterisation of Oliver in line 576 ('Et Olivers li pruz et li corteis') appears again in line 3755; the description of the emperor's grief in line 2943 ('Ploret des oilz, tiret sa barbe blanche') recurs at the end of the poem in line 4001 and the same description serves for the courage both of Charlemagne and of the Franks in lines 828 and 3613 ('Nen unt (ad) poor ne de murir dutance'). The descriptive lines: 'Clers est li jurz et li soleilz luisant' and 'La bataille

est merveillusc et pesant' are used twice (2645 and 3345; 1412 and 3381), and in the battle scenes the deaths of Turgis de Turteluse and Engelier de Guascuigne, of Falsaron and Sanson, respectively, are recounted in identical terms:

1227–9 and 1575–7.	L'escut li freint et l'osberc li derumpt, El cors li met les pans del gonfanun, Pleine sa hanste l'abat mort des arcuns.
1285–7 and 1539–41.	Del bon espiet el cors li met la mure, Empeinst le ben, tut le fer li mist ultre, Pleine sa hanste el camp mort le tresturnet[1].

Repetitions other than these—possibly some of these also—are deliberately calculated; they are employed by the poet to secure certain effects. So, for example, the not infrequent repetition of lines or half-lines at the beginning of a strophe—e.g. many of the descriptive lines quoted or referred to above[2] and the phrase 'Ço sent Rollanz' at the head of strophes CLXVIII, CLXX, CLXXI, CLXXIV, CLXXV, 'Amis Rolanz' in strophes CCIX, CCX, CCXI, and the lines 3578 and 3914 concluding the strophes describing Charlemagne's and Thierri's great duels: 'Seinz home mort ne poet estre achevee (afinet)[3].' In nearly all these examples the reiteration strikes a note of foreboding or sorrow, often with that same refrain-like effect noted elsewhere.

In the case of the 'laisses similaires' calculation, the shaping artistic purpose is still more evident. Whatever the origin of these laisses may be[4], their function in the *Chanson de Roland* is aesthetic[5]. By describing the successive moments of crisis, by elaborating symmetrically the plaints over the dead, the poet has found an unequalled means of heightening the crisis, of emphasising the emotional significance of the scene. In Ganelon's threefold praise of Charlemagne, the emir's threefold summons to his men, Oliver's threefold summons to Roland, Roland's threefold farewell to his sword, Charlemagne's fivefold lamentation over Roland, the poet's purpose and success are equally patent. Elsewhere he has been pitting his skill against the drawbacks of the metrical form he is using, but in passages like these the traditional strophe form offers him the chance of securing by simplest means, most poignant, heart-stirring effects—and that chance he has taken.

[1] Cf. also 1545 and 1671, 22 and 3540, 1198 and 1584, 1276 and 1354, 1957 and 3929, 3603 and 3926. In 938 and 989, 2079 and 2158 the repetitions are due to scribal errors.

[2] Cf. above.

[3] Cf. also ll. 1952 and 1965.

[4] Cf. later.

[5] With one exception, viz. laisses v and vi describing Marsilius' choice of ambassadors. There is no emotional crisis here and the repetition appears to me to serve no particular purpose.

B. The 'Chanson de Willelme[1].'

I. *Construction of the Strophe.*

Compared with the elaboration, the calculated shaping of the versification found in the *Roland* the versification of the *Chanson de Willelme* is startlingly rough and unfinished. The poet, truly, obtains at times effects as poignant but his skill as verse maker contributes little, if anything, to his success. The construction of the strophe is without discernible method; there is no trace in it of any conscious artistic purpose determining either length or form.

The main differences between the strophe in the *Willelme* and the *Roland* are as follows:

(1) Whereas in the *Roland* the strophes keep near a mean of 15 lines those of the *Willelme* vary between wide limits. A considerable number are two-lined only, others but little longer[2]; on the other hand the longest (CLIV) runs to 73 lines and the latter part of the poem[3] contains one laisse of 190 lines.

(2) There is no attempt to make strophe and incident coincide nor in any way to round off a strophe. Highly composite strophes are not infrequent, particularly in the latter part; e.g. CXLII contains the account of William's meal, and his sorrow, Guiborc's encouragement, the description of Gui, and his conversation with his uncle.

(3) On the other hand the change of assonance occurs without any relation to the theme and at times in very awkward fashion. Both speeches and incidents suffer interruptions. A speech often begins with the last line of one strophe and ends in the next; so Vivien's speeches in IX, X, XIII, XIV, XIX, XX, XXI, XXII. Where incidents are concerned the change of assonance is sometimes still more disconcerting[4], e.g.:

796. Puis traist s'espee, comencet a ferir.
797. Qui que il fieret, sur halberc u sur helme,
Sis cols n'arestet, des i que jus en terre.
1046. Puis l'at assis a une halte table,
Si li aportet, d'un sengler une espalle.
Li quens la prist, si la manjat en haste.
1049. El li aportet un grant pain a tamis, etc.

[1] The edition used is that by Suchier in the *Bibliotheca Normannica*.
[2] Cf. Introduction, p. xvii.
[3] i.e. Suchier's so-called *Chanson de Rainoart*, the latter part of the *Chançun de Willame*.
[4] One of the clumsiest examples is emended in Suchier's edition (XVI, XVII).

1543. Dunc li vestirent, une petite broigne,
Un petit helme, li lacierent desure,
Petite espee li ceinstrent, mais mult bone,
Al col li pendent, petite targe duble.
1547. Puis li aportent, une petite lance,
Bons fut li fers, e reide en fut la hanste, etc.

II. *Repetitions.*

Repetitions are more markedly characteristic of the *Willelme* than of the *Roland*, more numerous and somewhat differently employed. The relative importance of the three types—the repetitions due to similarity of situation, the linking of the strophes and the 'laisses similaires'—is exactly reversed.

The 'laisses similaires' are infrequent and much less effectively employed. The *Willelme* poet uses them in the account of Vivien's death, CI, CII, in the description of Gui (CL, CLI), and in his plaint of hunger (CLIX–CLXI); the *Rainoart* poet in William's 'regret' over Vivien's body. By way of illustration I will quote the first and the last examples:

CI. Uns Barbarins li vint par mi un val
Tost eslaissant un mult isnel cheval,
[En sa main destre portat un trenchant dart,]
Fiert en la teste le nobile vassal,
Que la cervele en espant contre val.
CII. Li Barbarins i vint tuz eslaissiez,
Entre ses quisses out un corant destrier,
En sa main destre un trenchant dart d'acier,
Fiert en la teste le vaillant chevalier,
Que la cervele desur l'erbe li chiet;
Sur les genoilz abat le chevalier.
Ço fut damages quant si prouz d'ome chiet.
1987. Vivien trove sur un estanc
A la funteine dunt li duit sunt bruiant
Desuz la foille dun oliver mult grant
Ses blanches mains croisies sur le flanc
Plus suef fleereit que nule especе ne piment
Parmi le cors out quinze plaies granz
De la menur fust morz uns amirailz
Ce reis ce quons ia ne fust tant poanz
Puis regrette tant dolerusement
Vivien sire mar fu tun hardement
Tun vasselage ta pruuesce tun sen
Quant tu es mort mes nai bon parent
Nauerai mes tel en trestut mun vivant.
2000. Vivien sire mar fu ta iuvente bele
Tis gentil cors & ta teindre meissele
Io tadubbai a mun palei a termes
Pur tue amur donai a cent healmes
E cent espees & cent targes noveles
Ci vus vei mort en larchamp en la presse

Trenche le cors & les blanches mameles
E les altres od vus qui morz sunt en la presse
Merci lur face le veir Paterne
Qui la sus maint & ca ius nus guverne.

2010. A la funtaine dunt li duit sunt mult cler
De suz la foille dun grant oliver
Ad bers Willame quons Vivien trove
Parmi le cors ont quinze plaies tels
De la menur fust morz uns amirelz
Dunc le regrette dulcement & suef
Vivien sire mar fustes unques ber
Tun vasselage que Deus taueit done
Nad uncore gueres que tu fus adube
Que ne pleuis & iuras Dampnedeu
Que ne fuereies de bataille champel
Puis covenant ne noisis mentir Deu
Pur co ies ore mort ocis & afole
Dites bel sire purriez vus parler
E reconuistre le cors altisme Deu
Si tu co creez quil fu en croiz penez
En malmonere ai del pain sacre
Del de meme que de sa main saignat Deus
Se de vus le col en aveit passe
Mar crendreies achaisun de malfe
Ae quons revint & sen & volente....

In William's 'regret' the movement of the scene is broken by the repetition at the beginning of the third strophe (l. 2010, etc.) of the lines descriptive of the situation, but otherwise it is not dissimilar in form and function to Charlemagne's lament over Roland, though far rougher. The description of Vivien's death, on the other hand, shows us the use of the 'laisses similaires' at a very rudimentary stage. Turold in his use of them never stops the action wholly; he retards and developes, always securing movement by bringing before us successive moments, e.g. three separate summonses, three blows of the sword, three answers to questions. But in the description of Vivien's death the repetition is so literal that all sense of advance is lost and that in spite of the fact that the second laisse brings in an addition ('Sur les genoilz abat le chevalier'). We merely appear to have the same action described twice and there is no gain of emotional significance.

Linking of the strophes is resorted to very frequently. Like the 'laisse similaire' the device is at times also of a most curiously simple type. Examples are:

XLII. En sun estrieu se fiert uns moltuns gris.

XLIII. En sun estrieu se fiert uns gris moltuns.

LXXX. Quant il eissit de la dolente presse,
Sis bons chevals li crievet suz sa sele.

LXXXI. Del dolent champ quant Girarz fut turnez,
Desuz ses alves est sis chevals crevez.

LXXXVII. Dient paien: 'Ja nel verrum vencu,
Tant cum laissum le cheval vif suz lui.'
LXXXVIII. Ja ne veintrum le nobile vassal,
Quant desuz lui laisum vif sun cheval.
CXLII. Mielz vus vient, glut, en cendres a gesir,
Que tei ne fait, mun cunté a tenir.
CXLIII. Mielz vus vient glut, en cendres reposer,
Que te ne fait a tenir mun cunté.

And also XVII, XVIII, XXXIV, XXXV, LVII, LVIII, LXXXVI, LXXXVII, CXVII, CXVIII.

Of all the types of repetition however the most frequent and most characteristic are the simplest—those due to similarity of incident. The poet follows without reserve the older practice. A messenger repeats his message verbatim; so Deramed's incursion is told us twice in identical terms (strophes II, III, VI, VII) and a third time only slightly modified (CVII, CVIII) and Girard repeats Vivien's charge with like precision (LXXIV–LXXVIII, CX–CXIII). More striking still is the retailing of similar incidents in almost identical terms as, for example, the deaths of Guiart and Guischart (CXXIV, CXXV, CXXVII, CXXVIII), the expedition of the pagans (CXX, CLVII), the meal provided by Guiborc for Guiart and Guilelme, respectively (CXVI, CXVII, CXLI, CXLII). To illustrate I will quote the first incident in which the similarity of the description leads up with sharp irony to a totally different ending.

CXXIV.

Plaist vus oïr des nobiles vassals,
Cum il sevrerent del chevalier reial?
Desur senestre s'en est turnez Girarz.
En un sablun li chaït ses chevals,
Sur ses espalles sis halbers li colat.
Trente paien descendirent al val,
En trente lius navrerent le vassal
Par mi le cors e d'espiez e de darz.
Criët et huchet quant la mort l'aprochat.
Dunc i survint Guilelmes cele part:
Les dis ocist, li vint fuient del val
Vint a Girart dulcement l'apelat.

CXXV.

'Amis Girarz, ki t'en fereit porter
E des granz plaies purreit tun cors saner,
Dites amis, e guarreies ent ber?
Tun escientre deis ja en ciel entrer!'
Respunt Girarz: Sire laissiez m'ester!
Ja ne querreie que jo'n fusse portez
Ne des granz plaies que fust mis cors sanez.
Ne guarrai ja pur nul home mortel.
Ki'm fereit tant que jo fusse muntez
E mis verz helmes me refust afermez
Mesist m'al col mun grant escu bocler,
E en mun poign mun espié adolé,

CXXVII.

Plaist vus oïr del nies dame Guiborc
ki desevrat de Guilelme le jurn?

De sun cheval chaït en un sablun,
Sur ses espalles sis halbers colat tuz.
Trente paien devalerent d'un munt,
En trente lius navrerent le barun.

Criët et huchet que li aït prodom.
A tant i vint Guilelmes al barun:
Les dis ocist, li vint fuient el munt.
Vint a Guischart si l'at mis a raisun.

CXXVIII.

'Amis Guischarz, ki t'en fereit porter,
E des granz plaies fereit tun cors saner,
[dites amis! e guarreies ent, ber?]
Tun escientre, deis ja en ciel entrer!'
Respunt Guischarz: 'Sire, laissiez m'ester!
Ja ne querreie que jo'n fusse portez
Ne des granz plaies que fust mis cors sanez.

Kim fereit tant que jo fusse muntez
Ja de voz armes ne querreie porter

Puis me donast un sul trait d'un vin cler
Si nen at vin, me doinst del duit troblé,
Ne finereie, par la fei que dei De!
Chier lur vendreie les plaies des costez
Dunt a grant force en est li sans alez.'

Mais mei donez sul un trait de vin cler
Si nen as altre vels de cel duit troblé
Puis m'en ireie a Cordres u fui nez
Mais ne crerreie en vostre Dampne De:...'

No less characteristic of the poet's method is the literal repetition of isolated lines in similar situations, e.g.:

Armes demande l'em li vait a porter	134 and again in 1075 and 1499.
Tote li fent, froisset e eschantelet	1828 and 1832.
Pur eshalcier sainte crestiente Ne pur la lei maintenir e guarder	1491–2 of Guiborc and again 1604–5 of Vivien.
A la fei, nies sagement as parlé Cors as d'enfant e raisun as de ber	1477–8, 1638–9 and cf. 1979–80.
Respunt Guioz: 'Unc mais nen oï tel'	1535, 1650 and cf. 1878, 1966.
En sun Romanz li (lur) ad dit et mustré	1333, 1570, 1593.

Some of these are due simply to the likeness of the situation, the use of others brings a refrain-like effect that is still more noticeable in some of the repetitions that occur at the beginning of strophes, as for example those that give such a ballad-like ring to the conversation between Vivien and Girard:

LXVIII. 'Amis Girarz, di, ies tu sains del cors?'
'Oïl,' dist il, 'e dedenz e defors.'

LXIX. 'Di dunc cument se contienent tes armes?'
'Par ma fei, sire, bones sunt e aates
Cum' a tel home ki'n at fait granz batailles
Si bosoinz est, ki dunc referat altres.'

LXX. 'Di dunc, Girarz, senz altres ta vertu?'
E cil respunt: 'Unkes plus fort ne fu.'

LXXI. 'Di dunc, Girarz, cum tis chevals se tient,'
'Mult tost s'eslaisset, e dreit se tient e bien,' etc.

Or those in Girard's lamentation over the weight of his armour:

718. Ohi grosse anste, cum me peises al flanc!...
722. Ohi grant targe, cum me peises al col!...
725. Ohi bons helmes, cum m'estunes la teste!
729. Ohi grant broigne, cum me vas apesant!

III. *The Refrain.*

The *Roland* laisses end, as is well known, with the enigmatical word 'Aoi,' destined to mark the end of the strophe and important enough to be parodied as late as the thirteenth century[1]. The *Willelme*, like the fragment of *Gormond and Isembard*, has a more strongly characterised irregular refrain. The short line 'lunsdi (juesdi) al vespre,' with a

[1] In the Portuguese *Gesta de Maldizer*, cf. Becker, *Nationale Heldendichtung*, § 22.

varying 10-syllabled line in assonance with it recurs at irregular intervals. It seems to break the poem up into sections and serves also at times to emphasise the note struck in the preceding strophe, cf. for instance:

473–4. —Lunsdi al vespre!—Mar est li chanz senz le cunte Guilelme.
489–90. —Lunsdi al vespre!—Mar fut li chanz comenciez senz Guilelme.
606–7. —Lunsdi al vespre!—Ot dous escuz remest suls en la presse.
785–6. —Lunsdi al vespre!—Ne vint li jurz, puis la levast de terre.

The one MS. however, is too defective to allow of sure conclusions being deduced as to its function.

The formal differences between the two epics we have been considering are not, it appears to me, due merely to variations in the individual poetic capacity of their authors. The poet of the *Willelme*, like Turold, sets before us heroic strife; like him too he has the eye to discern the tragic or pathetic moment and some skill to make us feel it; he has at his disposition a simple, traditional, metrical form, but there the resemblance ends. Turold must have been a man versed in all the culture of his day, he is able to dominate his material and form with conscious purpose, fashioning and shaping both at pleasure. His poem is a work of conscious art. The *Chanson de Roland* claims kinship with the *Nibelungen* and with *Beowulf*—even with Homer. In modern phrase, it is of the type of 'court' epic.

Not so the *Willelme*. In its metrical form, in its conception and execution, in the dominance of the poet by his material it bears the unmistakeable stamp of the *popular* heroic poetry. Its affinities lie with the ballad poetry, with the rude and vigorous productions of the wandering minstrel. Of especial significance in this connection are the repetitions, 'the soul of balladry,' according to one of the latest writers on the subject[1], no 'invention of artistic poetry...the most characteristic legacy, barring rhythm, which communal conditions have made to art[2].'

Professor Gummere is speaking here of the more literal repetitions, but both the other types found in the *Willelme*, the linking of strophes and the laisses similaires, find their parallels in the ballad literature, and call for frequent notice in his study of the subject. *A propos* of the ballad *Dick o' the Cow* he writes: 'One notes the far more prominent characteristic of repeating two concluding lines of a stanza as the beginning of the next, a common feature of ballads of the epic sort[3],'

[1] Gummere, *The Popular Ballad*, p. 324.
[2] Gummere, *The Beginnings of Poetry*, p. 205.
[3] Gummere, *The Popular Ballad*, p. 251.

and elsewhere he describes how 'Literal repetition yielded to this repetition with increments, and incremental repetition' (i.e. laisses similaires) 'came soon to be the close pattern of ballad stuff[1],' or gives it as his opinion that: 'It' (incremental repetition) 'is the legacy of an early or popular art....It is the genius of the ballad itself.'

Nor need we confine ourselves to the repetitions. The similarity between the *Willelme* and the ballad extends to the other metrical characteristics noted above—the short two-, three- or four-lined strophe and the rudimentary refrain. It is equally apparent—if for a moment we may digress—in all the other marked features of the poem—as for instance, the terseness, baldness, even triviality of the diction, the use of short question and answer, the slightness of the characterisation and absence of all detailed description of the enemy—all well-known characteristics of the 'ballad' poem—and all we may add absent from the *Roland*[2].

The 'ballad note' of the *Willelme* has indeed been observed not infrequently; its importance has surely not been sufficiently emphasised. It is no mere 'note'; it is its chief characteristic; it constitutes an essential difference between this poem and the *Roland*, a difference almost as great in its way as between the *Seyfridslied* and the *Nibelungen*[3], the one the rough production of a wandering minstrel, the other a 'court' adaptation of minstrel poetry of some such rude type.

If this be so, the interest and importance of the *Chanson de Willelme* will be readily apparent. Elsewhere popular heroic poetry and epic are sundered, they belong to different epochs; here the two are juxtaposed, for the extant form of the *Chanson de Willelme* is probably but little earlier than the *Roland*[4]. *A priori*, indeed, it might represent either the popular heroic poetry that preceded the *Roland* or that which followed it, but the later history of the epic leaves no room for doubt on this question. The 'disintegration' of the epic, its return to popular poetry is preserved for us in the many remaniements of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and followed evidently a totally different course. The *Willelme* is indubitably of different type from these.

[1] Gummere, *The Popular Ballad*, p. 91.

[2] The 'baldness of diction' alone excepted, for the lack of simile and metaphor—the absence of all imaginative diction—is equally characteristic of the *Roland* and all O.F. poetry.

[3] Cf. Chadwick, *The Heroic Age*, pp. 94 and 95.

[4] The dates of both poems is still a matter of controversy—Suchier puts the *Willelme* about 1080, the *Rainoart* not later than 1120. Gaston Paris put the *Roland* before the First Crusade, M. Bédier inclines to a date after 1100.

A most fortunate accident has preserved for us an example of the prae-*Roland* poetry—heroic poetry emerging from the popular, minstrel type—ready, as it were, to be taken up and transformed into epic by the poet of broader culture, higher poetic endowment and more finished technique. The *Chanson de Willelme* explains the *Chanson de Roland.* To some such rough poem of the death of Roland—full of vigour, indeed, and with its pathetic moments clearly marked, but short-winded, clumsy of build, bald of diction, slight in characterisation—Turold brought his wider conception of story, his unerring sense of form, his insight into human character, his idealised view of kingship and his patriotic love of France. Out of some such 'ballad' he has fashioned a poem, epic indeed in breadth of treatment, distribution of parts, continuity of story, strength of characterisation, yet in its simplicity of diction, its continually recurring lyric note, its reiteration of pathos nearer akin to the popular heroic poetry than any other great epic known to us.

(To be continued.)

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MISCELLANEOUS NOTES.

Spenser and Mulcaster.

Spenser, in the December eclogue of his *Shepheards Kalender* (ll. 37–42), makes Colin say:

> And for I was in thilke same looser yeares
> . . . . . .
> Somedele ybent to song and musicks mirth,
> A good old shephearde, *Wrenock* was his name,
> Made me by arte more cunning in the same.

It has naturally been surmised, as Professor Herford's edition tells us, that 'Wrenock' stands for someone who was a master at Merchant Taylors' School when Spenser was a boy there. The obvious person would be of course Mulcaster, the famous headmaster of the school: and one might naturally hope that the name 'Wrenock' could be twisted out of 'Mulcaster' in the way in which 'Grindal' emerges from Spenser's 'Algrind.' That unfortunately cannot be done.

If, however, we look into the matter more closely, the impossibility seems to disappear. From Dr Quick's account of Mulcaster, appended to his edition of the *Positions*, it appears that to those who knew him Mulcaster's name took different forms. In the minutes of the Court of the Merchant Taylors' Company of 26th Nov. 1574 the headmaster appears as 'M^{r} Richard Moncaster,' in those of the 15th December following as 'M^{r} Richard Muncaster' (Quick, p. 301). In the Queen's book of household expenses, under date 18th March 157$\frac{3}{4}$ he is 'M^{r} Richard Mouncaster' (*ib.* p. 303). Probably then this was the name by which he was known to his boys: cp. *Knight of the Burning Pestle*, I. 2. 25: 'were you never none of Master Moncaster's scholars?' It is at least an interesting coincidence that, if the name be taken as 'Mouncaster,' it yields the anagram 'Mast. Vrenoc,' and if 'Mowncaster,' 'Mast. Wrenoc.'

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'Locrine' and the 'Faerie Queene.'

Mr C. Crawford has written, '"Selimus" is full of "The Faerie Queene"...but "Locrine," so far as I have been able to discover, never once borrows from Spenser's poem[1].' Professor C. F. Tucker Brooke and Professor Cunliffe both refer to this statement and agree with it[2]. Twice, however, a suggestion has been made that the author of *Locrine* may have been in part indebted to the *Faerie Queene*. Erbe points out that in the play Gwendolen is married to Locrine before the coming of Estrild, which accords with the story as told by Warner and Spenser, and does not agree with other versions of the story[3]. He concludes that the playwright may have used either Warner or Spenser, or may have made the change independently. Brotanek, assuming a late date for *Locrine*, suggests that the author may have got the idea for his play from Spenser, but attempts no proof[4].

One point of likeness between *Locrine* and the *Faerie Queene* has hitherto escaped notice. Both the play and the poem introduce the character of Debon, an associate of Brutus. In my investigation of the sources of the Chronicle History in Spenser's *Faerie Queene*[5] I failed to find any previous mention of this eponymous hero of Devonshire. In Spenser he is conspicuous. He is twice mentioned for his encounter with Coulin[6], and like both the well-known Corineus, and the elsewhere unknown Canutus, he received from Brutus a part of the kingdom. Each of the three, according to Spenser, gave his name to his possessions, so that we have Cornwall, Devonshire, and Kent[7]. In the many other extant versions of the story of Brutus previous to the time of the *Faerie Queene* there is no mention of Debon, or of any adventure corresponding to his leaping match with Coulin. The appearance of his name in the play *Locrine* is therefore significant.

It is possible that Spenser and the author of *Locrine* may have had a common source, in popular tradition if not in some book, but it seems more probable that the playwright borrowed the character of Debon from the poet, without going farther afield. This statement, however,

[1] *Notes and Queries*, 1901, No. 163, p. 102.
[2] *The Shakespeare Apocrypha*, ed. C. F. Tucker Brooke, Oxford, 1908, p. xix. *The Cambridge History of English Literature*, vol. v, ch. 4, *Early English Tragedies*, by John W. Cunliffe, p. 87.
[3] *Die Locrinesage*, T. Erbe, Halle, 1904, p. 71.
[4] *Beiblatt zur Anglia*, vol. xi, p. 206.
[5] *The Sources of The British Chronicle History in Spenser's Faerie Queene*, by Carrie A. Harper, Bryn Mawr Monograph, 1910, pp. 50—51.
[6] *F. Q.* Book II, Canto 10, Stanza 11, and Book III, Canto 9, Stanza 50.
[7] *F. Q.* Book II, Canto 10, Stanza 12.

does not necessarily force us to the inference that Spenser invented the material. There is ample evidence that Spenser had antiquarian tastes which would have led him to obscure material which was not in general circulation, and therefore not likely to be known to the author of *Locrine*.

Debon has little part in the action of the play, but he has a speech (Act I, Sc. 1, ll. 139—140) which includes mention of his name, and according to the stage directions (Act II, Sc. 5) he is killed on the stage. In addition he is twice referred to, once in Albanact's lament (Act II, Sc. 5, ll. 64—65):

> The day is lost, the *Hunnes* are conquerors,
> *Debon* is slaine, my men are done to death,

and again in the speech of Thrasimachus to Locrine (Act III, Sc. 1, ll. 34—36), where it is said that Hubba

> murthered all with fatall massacre.
> Amongst the which old *Debon*, martiall knight,
> With many wounds was brought vnto the death.

The part that Debon plays is on the one hand too slight and on the other hand too closely interwoven with the texture of the whole, to be the result of revision.

A few straws of evidence, which in themselves have little importance, help to confirm a belief that the author of *Locrine* was influenced by the *Faerie Queene*. There is the point of Locrine's marriage to Gwendolen before the fight with Humber, already brought out by Erbe. There are also the facts that in the play as in Spenser Brutus makes division of his kingdom before his death, and makes Locrine the chief ruler; that is, in Spenser Brutus leaves him 'the soueraine Lord of all,' and in the play Brutus gives him the 'regall Crowne' (Act I, Sc. 1, ll. 189 ff.). Other versions of the story show variations in these points, although Spenser's form of it is not unique[1].

Such borrowing from the *Faerie Queene* is not of a nature to weigh in Professor Cunliffe's argument, based on the respective use and non-use of the *Faerie Queene* in the two plays, that *Selimus* and *Locrine* are by different authors[2]. The author of *Locrine* borrowed material, the author of *Selimus* borrowed lines[3]. Such borrowing is sufficient,

[1] See *Sources of The Br. Chr. Hist. in Sp.'s F. Q.*, pp. 52—56.

[2] *Op. cit.* p. 87.

[3] The following parallel between *Selimus* and the *Faerie Queene* has not hitherto been pointed out. *Selimus*, l. 744: 'And dye my shield in dolorous vermeil.' *F. Q.* II, 10, 24: 'The greene shield dyde in dolorous vermell.'

however, to controvert any dating of the play earlier than 1590, even if it does appear to be, as Tucker Brooke says, 'a tragedy of the type of about 1585[1].'

Carrie A. Harper.

South Hadley, Mass.

John Mason and Edward Sharpham.

Editions of *The Turke* by John Mason and *The Fleire* by Edward Sharpham have lately appeared in Professor Bang's most valuable series, *Materialien zur Kunde des älteren Englischen Dramas* (Bd. xxxvii and xxxvi respectively). In each case the Editor has tried to trace the story of the dramatist's life, and in each case he has shown his inability to deal with the biographical material afforded by the University records of Oxford and Cambridge. A note on the two cases may therefore be useful to future editors, especially foreign editors, of the works of English University men.

Mr Joseph Q. Adams, Junior, who has edited *The Turke*, shows from a contemporary document that John Mason was one of the sharers of the Whitefriars theatre. That is all we hear of him till Jacobs in 1714 remarks, 'He was Master of Arts, but of what University I cannot learn.' A further stage is reached when Baker, Reed, etc., in the *Biographia Dramatica*, 1782, state 'He is supposed to have been of Catherine Hall, Cambridge, and to have taken the degree of B.A. there in 1606.' From the fact that Jacobs said Mason was M.A., and the other fact that Mason in 1608 was living in London and identified with the Whitefriars Playhouse, Mr Adams suggests that if he took a degree in 1606, it was probably the M.A. and not the B.A. degree. To pursue the matter further, Mr Adams applied to St Catharine's College, and received kind help from Mr A. W. Spratt, who however informed him that no Admission Books of St Catharine's of this date were extant, while the Master of the College wrote that Mr Adams might be sure that, if Mr Spratt could not 'find the answer,' no one else could.

This was perhaps a little misleading. At any rate Mr Adams gave up the quest. He ought, of course, to have found out that a Cambridge man not only enters a College, but is soon after matriculated in the University, which later gives him its degrees: and that

[1] *Op. cit.* p. xx.

if the College has no record of a particular man's career, the University may have its own record. This is strikingly seen in this case. On applying to the University Registrary, I received a courteous communication from his Clerk to the effect that John Mason was matriculated as a Sizar of Caius College in 1596, took his B.A. degree as a member of St Catharine's Hall in $160\frac{0}{1}$ and his M.A. degree as a member of the same in 1606 (Mr Adams' conjecture being thus confirmed). But the information thus preserved led even further. It told us that Mason was admitted in the first instance to Caius College. Now the Admissions of this college are extant and have been printed by Dr Venn. From them we get this: 'Mason, John: son of Richard Mason, priest ('presbyter') of Cavendish, Suffolk. School, Bury St Edmunds. Age 14. Admitted July 6, 1596, sizar of his surety, Mr Disborow.' If then this Mason of Caius and St Catharine's was the author of *The Turke*, Mr Adams overlooked biographical material which was lying to his hand, and by aid of which he might perhaps have found more.

I must point out, however, that the identification is not absolutely convincing. It rests entirely on Jacobs' statement, a century after Mason's time, that the dramatist was an M.A. After that it was easy for someone in 1782, after consulting the Cambridge records, to identify him with the St Catharine's man. In that same edition of the *Biographia Dramatica*, Nathanael Richards, the author of *Messalina*, was identified with a Nathaniel Richards of Caius College, and this quite wrongly, as I showed in *Notes and Queries* (10th Series, XI, 461). All we can say is, that if Jacobs had any authority for his statement that Mason was an M.A., then almost certainly he was the Caius and St Catharine's man.

Dr Hunold Nibbe, who has edited *The Fleire*, also ignores the existence of University records, and so commits a mistake of another kind. We know that Edward Sharpham was born in July 1576 and was admitted on the 9th Oct. 1594 at the Middle Temple. For no other reason than to make it possible that Sharpham wrote a sonnet signed 'Ed. Sharphell' in John Davies' *Humours*, which there is not a shadow of reason for attributing to him, Dr Nibbe credits him with a career at a University, presumably at Oxford. He passes over the episode in a very light and airy manner—there is no hint of applying to University records—he merely says that, in spite of the death of Sharpham's stepfather, 'wusste es die Mutter...durchzusetzen, den begabten dritten Sohn auf die Universität zu schicken. Schon mit

achtzehn Jahren hatte der junge Sharpham seine juristischen Studien beendet und begab sich nach London.' (It will be observed that Dr Nibbe not only credits Sharpham with an Oxford course, for which there is no evidence, but informs us further that he did not read for the B.A. degree in the ordinary way, but pursued the study of law, like a German student of to-day who was to make law his profession.)

All this might have been spared us if Dr Nibbe had consulted Foster's *Alumni Oxonienses* and the original records of the University, in which Sharpham's name has not yet been found. But, if he was not an Oxford man, he was clearly not the 'Ed. Sharphell' who wrote the Sonnet.

G. C. Moore Smith.

Sheffield.

'Backare.'

> Let us, that are poor petitioners, speak too:
> *Baccare*! you are marvellous forward. *Taming of the Shrew*, II, i, 73.

The *New English Dictionary* and *Webster* echo Nares' conjecture that this Elizabethan expression for 'retire,' 'stand back' was intended originally to ridicule someone pretending to knowledge of Latin. In Lyly's use,

> The masculine gender is more worthy than the feminine, therfore *Licio*, backare. *Midas*, I, ii, 4,

there might be suspected some connotation of pedantry, but hardly in the earlier quasi-proverbial use by Udall:

> *Backare*, quoth Mortimer to his sow.

A hitherto uncited passage in Grange's *The Golden Aphroditis* (l. 1577, D iij) suggests rather a military signal to retreat, and Italian rather than Latin. Udall, Lyly and Shakespeare will admit without difficulty this interpretation:

> Yet wrested he so his effeminate hand to the siege of backewarde affection, that both trumpe and drumme sounded nothing for their Larum, but *Baccare*, *Baccare*.

Percy W. Long.

Cambridge, Mass.

Saint Évremond's 'Parallele de Monsieur le Prince et de Monsieur de Turenne.'

In 1685, ten years after Turenne's death, there appeared a life of Turenne by Du Buisson, Captain and Major of the Regiment de Verdelin. Turenne's family, so Desmaizeaux[1] relates, was so ill-satisfied with this life that they deputed the Abbé Raguenet to write another, and the Cardinal de Bouillon, knowing that Saint-Évremond had served in the French army and feeling sure that Saint-Évremond must have observed his general closely, wrote and asked him to help them by sending them some observations and recollections. Saint-Évremond, 'Historien exact mais trop libre du Traité des Pyrénées,' as Hamilton[2] styles him, was living, it will be remembered, an exile in England, and with the exception of five years spent in Holland from 1665 to 1670 on account of the plague[3], he had been there ever since 1661.

He complied with the Cardinal's wishes by sending him a short piece in praise of Turenne which will be found in most editions of his works, he also sent him at the same time another piece in which he compared Condé and Turenne. This was his well-known *Parallele de Monsieur le Prince et de Monsieur de Turenne*, a parallel which cannot boast of being as universally known as La Bruyère's parallel of Corneille and Racine, but which, nevertheless, commands a high place in the literature of Portraits. It was published for the first time in 1705[4].

But as a matter of fact, the parallel had been composed years before, in the lifetime of Turenne, in 1673 according to Desmaizeaux[5]. M. le Prince, ever since his reconciliation with Louis after the Fronde, had been kindly treated by the king, but for years he had not been allowed to take service again. In 1668 at last, at Louvois' suggestion —possibly because Louvois disliked Turenne—Condé was invited to take his place at the head of the army that was to conquer the Franche Comté. The reappearance of Monsieur le Prince as a general was quite an event. Then came the war with Holland in 1672 which once more

[1] St Évremond, *Oeuvres*, Amsterdam, 1726, vol. I, p. 247—51 ('Vie de St Evremond').
[2] *Mémoires de Grammont*, éd. Gustave Brunet, p. 104.
[3] Melville Daniels, *St Evremond en Angleterre*, pp. 21, 25.
[4] *Oeuvres Meslées*, Londres, 1705, 2 vols. in 4°, vol. II, pp. 525—8.
[5] St Evremond, *Oeuvres*, Amsterdam, 1726, vol. V, p. 16.

brought the two generals, equally great and yet very different, before the eye of the public so that a comparison of their respective merits inevitably suggested itself.

Saint-Évremond's *Parallele*, as composed in 1673, was very much simpler than the one which appears in his works from 1705 onwards and which he had elaborated for the Cardinal de Bouillon. The *Parallele* in its simpler form was first printed in 1693 in the anonymous *Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire du Prince de Condé*[1], but the author's name was not mentioned. In 1701 there appeared a *Nouveau Recueil*[2] of Saint-Évremond's works which, though containing very little that really came from Saint-Évremond's pen, gave his *Parallele*, also in the simpler form.

Now among the French State Papers for the year 1673 preserved at the Record Office, there is, curiously enough, a manuscript copy of the simpler *Parallele*[3], and though it is anonymous, it can at once be identified with Saint-Évremond's. The author was on very good terms with Arlington, then Secretary of State, and Arlington was interested in his writings and probably procured himself one of those manuscript copies that used to be so freely circulated, long before an author's works appeared in print.

The text at the Record Office varies slightly from the one printed in 1693 (*Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire du Prince de Condé*) and 1701 (*Nouveau Recueil*) and I reproduce it because it is the earliest known form of the *Parallele*. Wherever the version printed in 1693 and 1701 differs from the first draft, the variations are indicated in footnotes, these editions not being readily accessible. A comparison of the three forms of the *Parallele* which we possess—the Record Office text, the text as printed in 1693 and 1701, and finally the more elaborate text that appears in the editions from 1705 onwards—gives one some insight into the methods of Saint-Évremond's work and affords one more interesting instance of the way in which Saint-Évremond untiringly altered, improved and rewrote his compositions. 'Vingt fois sur le métier remettez votre ouvrage' might have been written by him, at least as far as the sentiment is concerned. A well-known instance of the 'remaniements' to which Saint-Évremond subjected his writings is the case of his play *Les Académiciens*, which was

[1] Cologne, 1693, 2 vols. 12°, vol. II, pp. 328—30. These Memoirs, by the way, are attributed to La Brune.
[2] Paris, 1701, 12°, pp. 112—15.
[3] R.O. State Papers, France, vol. 138, f. 64.

composed in 1643, printed in 1650, almost entirely rewritten in 1680 and printed in this new form in 1705*.

Parallele de Monsieur le Prince et de Monsieur de Turenne.

En l'un vous voyez[1] la grandeur du génie, une lumière tousjours presente, un courage ingenieux[2] sans trouble et sans précipitation. L'autre[3] a l'avantage du sang-froid, de[4] la capacité, de[4] l'expérience et[5] une valeur ferme et asseurée.

Celuy-là resolu[6] dans les conseils, jamais[7] embarrassé dans les desordres, prend[8] mieux son party qu'homme du monde. Celuy-cy se faisant[9] un plan de la guerre, disposant[10] toutes choses à sa fin, prevoyant[11] les obstacles avec plus de jugement que de lenteur.

L'activité du premier va plus loin que les choses necessaires pour ne rien oublier de ce que peut[12] estre utile. L'autre est aussi agissant qu'il le doit estre ne[13] faisant rien de surplus pour ne pas fatiguer les trouppes[14].

Monsieur le Prince est fier[15] dans le commandement[16] également craint et estimé. Monsieur de Turenne, plus agréable[17], laissant plus de satisfaction, mais se gardant un peu moins d'authorité.

Il n'y a point assez de précaution[18] contre les attaques du premier et les postes les plus seurs ont pour luy des foiblesses. L'autre trouve partout des seuretez et voit des jours à[19] se garantir de[20] toutes les apparences de la[21] perte.

Aux combats l'ordre de l'un et de l'autre est quasi de mesme[22]. Monsieur le Prince sçait pousser les[23] avantages et retablir les[23] desordres. Il tire des trouppes tout ce qu'on[24] peut tirer. Il s'abandonne tout entier à l'action et il semble qu'il soit[25] resolu de vaincre ou de ne pas survivre à sa deffaite[26]. Monsieur de Turenne n'oublie rien de ce qui

[1] On voit en Monsieur le Prince. [2] impetueux. [3] M. de Turenne. [4] de *omitted.* [5] et *omitted.* [6] resout. [7] n'est jamais. [8] prenant. [9] se fait. [10] dispose. [11] prevoit tous. [12] qui puisse. [13] mais ne. [14] superflu pour ne pas dissiper et ruiner les troupes par des fatigues hors de saison. [15] est fier *omitted.* [16] commandement est. [17] agréable n'est pas moins estimé. [18] précautions. [19] pour. [20] dans. [21] sa. [22] semblable. [23] ses. [24] qu'il en. [25] est. [26] ses défaites.

* *Oeuvres Meslées*, Londres, Jacob Tonson, 1705, vol. I, p. 3. Cf. also the preface to this, the first authentic edition of St Évremond's works: 'On avoit d'abord résolu de désigner par quelque marque particulière les Pièces qui n'avoient pas encore paru : mais on a changé de sentiment parce que parmi les Écrits qui avoient déjà été imprimés, il y en a qui ont été entièrement refondus et qui peuvent passer pour nouveaux....Il faut encore remarquer que l'Auteur ayant revu en differens tems ses ouvrages, y ajoutait après coup de nouvelles choses.'

peut donner le gain d'un combat; profite de tout s'il est heureux[27], conserve ce qu'il peut s'il ne l'est pas; il laisse tousjours quelque ressource pour une meilleure fortune; soit par l'égalite de son naturel, soit par une longue expérience de bons et mauvais[28] succes, il reçoit toute sorte[29] d'accidents d'un mesme visage.

Les disgraces trouvent Monsieur le Prince plus sensible[30] mais sa fierté s'en irrite davantage, et sa vertu excitée par les malheurs se trouve assez forte pour les vaincre.

C'est assez pousser la comparaison[31]. Je diray seulement que Monsieur le Prince[32] est le premier homme du monde pour une journée et Monsieur de Turenne pour une campagne, l'un plus propre pour[33] finir plus[34] glorieusement des actions et l'autre à terminer[35] une guerre; en un mot[36] Monsieur le Prince fait la guerre avec plus d'esclat pour sa réputation et Monsieur de Turenne avec plus d'avantage pour les interests du party où il se trouve.

[27] heureux, il profite de tout. [28] des bons et des mauvais. [29] toutes sortes. [30] sensible que M. de Turenne. [31] *This sentence omitted.* [32] Enfin M. le Prince. [33] à. [34] plus *omitted.* [35] terminer utilement. [36] en un mot *omitted.*

Ruth Clark.

Paris.

An Unpublished Letter from Ottilie von Goethe to A. Hayward.

The letter printed below is preserved in the Goethe-Museum (Freies Deutsches Hochstift) at Frankfurt am Main. I am much obliged to Professor O. Heuer and the authorities of the Museum for permitting me to reproduce it. The document is important in so far as it throws further light upon Ottilie's personality, and shows the intimacy of her relations with Mrs Jameson, a subject that I hope to treat more fully in a separate publication. From a more general point of view the reference to Eckermann and his book will be a welcome addition to the *testimonia* of the poet's home-circle published in the April number of this Review (pp. 258 f.).

The letter is addressed to A. Hayward (1801–84), the essayist and Q.C., who was a distinguished German scholar and the translator of *Faust*. He had visited Germany in 1831, and again in 1833 (*Dict. of Nat. Biogr.*), when he met Ottilie von Goethe[1]. It appears that, late

[1] H. E. Carlisle, *Selection from the Correspondence of A. Hayward*, 2 vols., London, 1886; vol. I, p. 18.

in April 1836, Mrs Jameson returned to London after a prolonged stay at Weimar[1]. With her travelled Ottilie's sister, Fräulein Ulrike von Pogwisch, the bearer of the letter to Hayward. Mrs Jameson herself refers to these circumstances in a letter addressed to her friend Mrs Procter[2]. Ottilie's letter is of the old-fashioned type, folded and without envelope. It is written in her usual, somewhat rambling style, redundant in places, and with inconsistent spelling and punctuation. Under the address are a few words in English: 'I have only time to say that I shall be glad to see you but have hardly any hope of being at home till Sunday after one.' These words were probably added by Mrs Jameson, who was herself a personal friend of Hayward[3] and apparently sent the letter on to him.

I print the text in full without alterations.

To A. Hayward, Esq.

Weimar *den* 12^{en} *Ap* 1836.

Es giebt einen Weg, der trotz allen Schnellposten, Eisenbahnen, Dampfschiffen, Luftballons, immer gleich lang bleibt, und das ist der Weg zum Schreibtisch. Wie viel Gefahren hat man zu bestehen ehe man ihn erreicht, welche Klippen zu umfahren ehe man ihm erreicht, kurz mein langes Stillschweigen hat Ihnen bewiesen, das ich ein schlechter Pilot bin, und erst jetzt endlich den Hafen erreiche. Meine Feder hat mich entsetzlich bei Ihnen verleumdet, denn sie ist schuld wenn ich vergessend erschien wo ich allen Grund hat mich zu erinnern. Nur meine Feder ist undankbar, denn sie schwieg, während mein Herz sich wohl erinnerte, das ich Ihnen nicht nur die erste beruhigende Nachricht über meinen Freund Sterling[1] zu danken habe, sondern das Sie auch später theilnehmend sich nach meiner Gesundheit erkundigten, und nicht aufhörten mir literarische Beweise Ihres Andenkens zu senden. Ihnen jetzt noch viel über mich selbst zu sagen scheint mir beinahe thöricht, wenn Sie alles so viel besser und ausführlicher von Mrs Jameson und meiner Schwester hören können, die Ihnen diese Zeilen und einen Theil von Zelter bringt, der wie ich glaube Ihnen noch fehlt[2]. Auch sende ich Ihnen noch ein anderes Buch, was Ihrer Aufmerksamkeit durch eine schmucklose Wahrheit, vollkommen verdient. Ich hätte nicht für möglich gehalten, das man so ohne alle Beimischung seiner eigenen Individualität, hören, auffassen

[1] Gerardine Macpherson, *Memoirs of the Life of Anna Jameson, Author of Sacred and Legendary Art, etc.* London, 1878, pp. 103, 109.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 105. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 95.

und niederschreiben könnte, wie Eckermann gethan hat, in den Gesprächen mit meinem Schwiegervater, und nur in zwei oder drei Fällen hätte ich für die, die ihn nicht persönlich kannten einen Nachsatz gewünscht, im allgemeinen war uns als hörte man seine Worte und Stimme. Es ist noch nicht im Buchhandel versendet, ich konnte also nur es theilweise und flüchtig lesen, da ich unsere Exemplare nach England zu senden wünschte[3]. Einer Ihrer Briefe hat mich zu einer Bemerkung veranlasst, auf die ich mir etwas einbilde, sie Ihnen also mittheile. Sie sprachen von der Verschiedenheit Ihrer Empfindungen für Frauen jetzt und früher, und Sie haben recht; von einem Mann kann man sagen, er liebt wie ein Mann von 35 Jahren, er liebt wie ein Mann von 30, er liebt wie ein Jüngling von 20. Bei einer Frau ist das anders, sobald man von einer Frau sagt sie liebt, hat man auch immer damit gesagt sie liebt mit all der Wärme und Aufopferung und Schwärmerei eines 16 jährigen Mädchens, denn eine Frau liebt entweder gar nicht, oder sie liebt immer wieder wie 16 Jahr. Dieses ist so weise und tief das ich Ihnen kaum zutraue es zu verstehen, da die Begriffe der Männer, was Frauen-Charaktere betrifft doch immer nur bis auf einen gewissen Punkt gehen, und ich immer erstaunt bin wie selbst die klügsten, sich mit ein paar falschen 'Hackney' Gedanken darüber abfinden.—Ich war so besorgt ja Ihre Freunde, die sie mir emphohlen hatten nicht zu verliehren, das ich selbst bei einer eintägigen Abwesenheit meine Mutter gebeten sie zu empfangen, doch nach mehreren Wochen der Erwartung, erfuhr ich, das sie nicht allein in Weimar, sondern sogar im Hause gewesen waren um die Sammlungen meines Schwiegervaters zu sehen. Sie müssen also gar keine anziehende Schilderung von mir gemacht haben. Hoffentlich führen Sie Ihre Sommerferien nach Deutschland und durch Weimar durch, wo glauben Sie mir, Ihnen recht interessante Bekanntschaften noch bevorstehen die Ihnen in unserem Clima gewiss wahre Bewunderung einflössen werden, und zurückgekehrt in dem Ihrigen, neblichten, Ihnen trefflichen Stoff bieten über unsere deutsche Sentimentalität u.s.w. zu lachen.

Wie ich die Abwesenheit von Mrs Jameson ertragen werde, mit der sich alle Gedanken meines Lebens seit zwei Jahren verzweigt haben, weis ich nicht und kann also nichts darüber sagen.

Leben sie herzlich wohl, ich würde Ihnen einen unserer berühmtesten dramatischen Dichter, Grillparzer empfohlen haben (wenn ich nicht glaubte, das Sie ihn doch durch Mrs Jameson werden kennen lernen). Die Schilderung die Anna von mir gemacht, und die Sie durch ihre

Anführung als richtig scheinen erkannt zu haben kommt mir so reizend vor, das ich in der grössten Verwunderung bin, das einer so liebenswürdigen Person nicht die halbe Welt zu Füssen liegt. Da nach meinem System man eine Dame nicht an einen Herrn empfehlen kann, so sage ich Ihnen nichts über meine Schwester, die Ihnen beweisen soll, welche verschiedene Arten von Liebenswürdigkeit wir in Deutschland haben, und wo ich erwarte das Sie künftig zwischen uns Schwestern das getheilte Herz[4] aufführen werden.

Sie müssen als Jurist wissen, das es Privilegien giebt die man nur auf eine gewisse Anzahl Jahre geniesst, und die man dann wieder erneuen muss,—das Privilegium über meine Romantik zu lachen, verfällt alle zwei Jahre. Sie müssen also durchaus es diesen Sommer wieder erneuen, wo ich Sie wieder in Lehre nehmen will. Nochmals leben Sie wohl.

OTTILIE v. GOETHE.

NOTES.

[1] See Goethe, *Lebensverhältnis zu Byron*; of this, an English translation was printed in Moore's *Letters and Journals of Lord Byron, with Notices of his Life*, 1830, Vol. II, p. 670; Priebsch, *Zeitschrift für Bücherfreunde*, 1911, p. 41; Brandl, *Goethes Verhältnis zu Byron, Goethe-Jahrbuch* 20, p. 16.

[2] The reference seems to be to Riemer's edition of *Briefwechsel zwischen Goethe und Zelter in den Jahren 1796–1832*; this came out in parts during the years 1833–4, and it is quite likely that Hayward brought the earlier volumes with him on returning from his visit to Germany in 1833.

[3] The *Gespräche* were published 'zur Ostermesse 1836'; Eckermann's free copies of the first and second parts were dispatched by the publisher on April 7 and 21 respectively; see *Gespräche*, ed. Houben, 13th edition, 1913, pp. 633–4.

[4] *Das getheilte Herz* is one of Kotzebue's minor dramatic pieces, which was frequently performed at amateur theatricals; see *Almanach dramatischer Spiele zur geselligen Unterhaltung auf dem Lande*, von A. von Kotzebue, XI. Jahrg. 1813, and collected works.

HEINRICH MUTSCHMANN.

NOTTINGHAM.

REVIEWS.

The Cambridge History of English Literature. Edited by A. W. Ward and A. R. Waller. Volume ix. From Steele and Addison to Pope and Swift. Cambridge: University Press. 1912. 8vo. xiv + 609 pp.

The present volume, like the others of this series, does not confine itself strictly to the limits set by the title. L'Estrange (1616–1704) and Gilbert Burnet (1643–1715) obviously belong, so far as chronology is concerned, to the age of Dryden. A large number of the works discussed by Mr Aldis in his half-chapter on 'Antiquaries' appeared before 1700. Mr Whibley's chapter on 'Writers of Burlesque and Translators,' Miss Spurgeon's on 'William Law and the Mystics,' Mr Henderson's on 'Scottish Popular Poetry before Burns,' and Professor Adamson's on 'Education,' contain much information regarding authors who find a place here because they anticipate or succeed literary movements which were especially important during the first half of the eighteenth century. The fruitfulness of the period, moreover, has compelled the editors to reserve for subsequent volumes the treatment of several divines and dramatists, the earlier novelists, and various precursors of romanticism who had done their chief work before the death of Pope.

Such a plan, while it permits the history of the generation dealt with to merge easily at either extreme in the main current of English literary history, naturally restricts the volume to something less than an exhaustive account of the work done by the age of Pope and Swift. The omissions include not only such particular figures as Lillo and Atterbury, Mrs Manley and Mrs Haywood, Thomson and Dyer and Young; but readers will look in vain for more than incidental comment on the prosody and critical ideals of the period or on the very important changes effected in the literary career by the development of the book trade and the varying fortunes of political patronage. The literary relations of England with the Continent, too, are little considered. The presence in London after 1688 of a colony of French refugees who did much to diffuse throughout Europe a knowledge of the English, and even the important visit of Voltaire, remain quite unnoticed. The bibliography to Mr Routh's chapter on 'Steele and Addison' indicates the main direction of their influence

abroad, but this is not always true of the other chapters. Of foreign influence upon English writers during the period, indeed, the bulk is less than from 1660–1700, but it scarcely deserves to be passed over with the vaguest comment by all the collaborators save Miss Spurgeon, whose chapter on the mystics should have particular note for its wide and accurate grasp of an important movement in European thought.

Professor Trent's chapter on 'Defoe—the Newspaper and the Novel' contains more new biographical material than any other chapter in the book. It now appears that Defoe was released from Newgate about 1 November 1703, instead of August 1704, and that, therefore, he neither founded *The Review* in prison nor drew wholly upon his imagination for his report of the great storm. This information, like that already furnished by Mr Aitken with regard to *The Apparition of Mrs Veal*, shows that Defoe was not always so independent of his sources as some of his critics have thought. On the other hand, the discovery that his *Appeal to Honour and Justice* did not appear till 24 February 1715, seems to discredit his pathetic plea of ill health for the past six weeks, since January and February of that year had seen him as productive as usual. This, and the further discovery of the methods he employed to clear himself of the blame for his *White Staff* tracts, leave his reputation for truthfulness about where it was. Defoe does not emerge from the treatment of his most exact biographer in the figure of a whitewashed hero. Indeed, Professor Trent comes nearer to an agreement with the contemporaries of Defoe than with those modern students who have shown a disposition to make him out a martyr. That Defoe was a casuist who duped himself, rather than a shameless liar, however, Professor Trent contends. This characteristic of the man does not seem so well borne out by the present chapter's compact array of facts as do his industry and scope, to which the astounding bibliography attests, but nevertheless he is here presented, in a brief space, with a completeness and precision which have not hitherto fallen to his lot. The bibliography to the chapter, which deals also with L'Estrange, should be supplemented by the mention of Mr G. Kitchin's *Sir Roger L'Estrange* (London, 1913). The paragraph which is printed at the end of I. A on page 418 belongs plainly to the bibliography of Defoe, though it is an unimportant addition.

Writing on 'Steele and Addison,' Mr Routh adds a fourth to his chapters on popular literature for the *Cambridge History*. He considers the two men chiefly in their relations to the social movement, with slight emphasis on their biographies or on any of their works beside the periodical essays. Consequently, neither man becomes a vivid personality under Mr Routh's exposition. The great advantage of this reduction of two men of genius to the ranks is that the reader is enabled to see how impressive was the tendency toward softer manners and a wider culture of the middle class, which Steele and Addison found ready to be made conscious of its own direction. The business of Mr Routh's chapter is only incidentally to define

the qualities of the leaders in the movement. He characterizes Mr Spectator with as much sharpness of outline as if he were dealing with a real man; in fact, he is dealing with a real man, the protagonist of the middle class revolution. In his generalizations Mr Routh is nearly always just and discriminating; his special virtue lies in his comment on the essays, which, carefully documented with footnotes, constitutes practically an analysis of *The Tatler* and *The Spectator*.

The chapters on 'Pope' and 'Swift,' by Professor Bensly and Mr Aitken respectively, bring forward no new facts and analyse no large movements. Both writers confine themselves largely to exposition, especially Mr Aitken, who has spent what seems an unnecessary amount of space in summaries, even of the best known of Swift's works. These summaries lack the useful detail of Mr Routh's. Mr Aitken prudently avoids all vexed questions concerning the mystery of Swift's life, and with regard to his style and genius keeps well within the bounds of received opinion. Exception might be taken, however, to his unqualified statement that *A Tale of a Tub* is the 'greatest of English satires' (p. 102). Professor Bensly has missed the opportunity to make that definition of Pope's poetical qualities which it is only now becoming possible to make without prejudice. Having pointed out at the beginning of the chapter that Pope, too, represented a kind of 'return to nature,' Professor Bensly concludes with a paragraph in which he speaks of Pope's age as a 'period when the social interest in man had dwarfed the feeling for nature' (p. 89). This confusion in the use of the term 'nature' does much to vitiate the argument. Fair comment is offered on the variety of Pope's couplets, the fire of his Homer, and the intricacies by which he sought to prepare his correspondence for posterity. His qualities as an artist receive due, though not very precise recognition, but the occasional moral elevation of his satire needs greater emphasis. The Pope bibliography, admittedly only a selection, would gain in usefulness, and that without becoming disproportionately long, if it were more detailed with regard to the prose.

Mr Aitken writes an authoritative chapter on 'Arbuthnot and Lesser Prose Writers.' Nothing serves better to make clear why Arbuthnot was so much esteemed by his contemporaries than a narrative of the bare facts of his life, with a list of the friends who held him first in their regard. The biographical facts are given minutely and the principal work summarized, perhaps with better reason than in the case of Swift. Since one must admit that Arbuthnot has few readers to-day, Mr Aitken seems the less justified in omitting from his bibliography any reference to the convenient edition of *The History of John Bull* prepared by himself in *Later Stuart Tracts* (Dutton, N.Y., n. d.), as part of the reissue of Professor Arber's *English Garner*. The same chapter contains an account of William King, whose poem on a cow is here miscalled *Molly* (for *Mully*) *of Mountown*, and of various literary critics, notably Rymer and Dennis, concerning whom Mr Aitken offers

little criticism. It might have been added that Edward Bysshe's *Art of English Poetry* (1702) had an extensive influence in its day and that Cibber's *Apology* can hardly be surpassed for its comments upon the actor's craft.

The division of the chapter on 'Lesser Verse Writers' between Mr Seccombe and Professor Saintsbury secures for Prior, Gay, Ambrose Philips, Parnell, Lady Winchelsea, Pomfret, and Tickell, as the chief of the slighter poets, the privilege of biographies, while more than a score who live by a name or a poem are treated in Professor Saintsbury's sweeping and vigorous criticism. With his accustomed acuteness, Professor Saintsbury has picked out nearly every fine passage produced by his subjects; he has emphasized the importance of Blackmore in metrical history; and he has done justice, or nearly so, to the merits of Dodsley's two collections. The statement that the *Bacchanalian Song* commonly thought to be by John Philips gave hints to Peacock, can be nothing more than a guess. Mr Bartholomew, who has prepared the bibliography for this half-chapter, ascribes the *Oeconomy of Human Life* to Dodsley, without a hint that both Mr Tedder (*Dict. Nat. Biog.* art. *Dodsley*) and Mr Austin Dobson (*Eighteenth Century Vignettes*, II) give it, on the authority of contemporary opinion, to Chesterfield. Mr Straus (*Robert Dodsley*, 1910) has made the argument for Dodsley so strong that opposition is difficult. To Prior Mr Seccombe devotes about one-half of all the space allotted to his section of the chapter. The author of *Alma* is here said to have 'returned' (p. 154) to his subject of the vanity of the world in his *Solomon*. This seems to imply that Prior did not speak the truth in his Preface to *Solomon* when he said that he had obeyed the Horatian precept and kept his poem by him for nine years. The statement, if true, would put the composition of the poem as early as 1709, whereas *Alma* was not written till after March 1715 (*Dict. Nat. Biog.* art. *Prior*). Prior's octosyllabics warrant more comment than Mr Seccombe gives them. In the discussion of Gay no mention is made of *The Present State of Wit* (1711), which, like Gay's essays for *The Guardian* (11 and 149), is not included in the bibliography. Extensive corrections to the section on Gay have already been furnished by Mr E. L. Gay (*Nation*, New York, 24 April 1913). Mr Seccombe reasonably insists that Lady Winchelsea is not to be claimed too surely by such historians of the romantic movement as seem to hold that the eighteenth century existed only to furnish precursors for romanticism.

In the first of his two learned chapters on 'Historical and Political Writers' Dr Ward, confining himself largely to Burnet, gives to *The History of My Own Times* a more extended treatment than that received by any other single work in this volume except *The Spectator*. Bolingbroke, as the chief figure of the second chapter, is represented only by his political writings, and Dr Ward, though paying adequate tribute to his style, specifically excludes (p. 232) from the discussion any estimate of what is, after all, the notable thing about Bolingbroke,

his influence on his own generation. It may seem fastidious to point out that Shaftesbury of the *Characteristics* was the third, not the second, earl (p. 204); that Sanders was translated into French by Maucroix, not Mancroix (p. 196); and that Rapin was not 'sieur de Thomas' (p. 235), but 'sieur de Thoyras.'

Mr Seccombe's short chapter on 'Memoir-Writers, 1715–60,' serves partly to show why Lord Hervey, the 'Lord Fanny' and 'Sporus' of Pope, should have been attacked with such rancour by the gossip of the day, and why, in consequence, Hervey's *Memoirs* blackened every name they touched. More engaging is the portrait of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, whom Mr Seccombe has presented as scholar, wife, exile, and letter writer, in admirably life-like proportions. In connection with George Bubb Dodington, Browning's poem on him deserves mention.

The first four pages of Mr Whibley's spirited chapter on 'Writers of Burlesque and Translators' might be called 'Scarron in England'; the four following might be 'The Apes of Hudibras.' Scarron's imitators burlesqued the ancients; Butler's the moderns. Mr Whibley has finely contrasted the Elizabethan gravity of Dekker and Nashe with the supple temperaments of Ned Ward and Tom Brown; the belated Tudor Urquhart with the versatile *émigré* Motteux. He has shown how following Dryden's principles of translation and leading their own lives gave the translators of the age the racy colloquialism which adds pungency, and sometimes unintelligibility, to every page. His comments upon three undeniable English classics, Motteux' *Rabelais*, L'Estrange's *Æsop*, and Cotton's *Montaigne*, should help to fix their fame in its proper degree, and he has paid just honours to the little-known Captain John Stevens. The epigram on Dr Fell here ascribed unhesitatingly to Tom Brown (p. 265), it may be noted, is given to him by Mr Duff (p. 329) in less positive terms.

As the *Cambridge History* progresses, one comes more and more to realize how useful for the purposes of the general student is the lucid and untechnical history of English philosophy which Professor Sorley's chapters contain. In 'Berkeley and Contemporary Philosophy' he has analyzed the threefold influence of Locke during the first half of the eighteenth century with his accustomed precision. His particular merit is to have defined the central and significant ideas of many books in the briefest words and yet never to have clogged his chapter. The section devoted to the deists does no more than to state their intellectual position: there is still room for a full study of their service in the formation of English opinion, and particularly of their influence abroad. Such a study would leave few of the liberal movements of the eighteenth century in Europe untouched. To speak of details, the date of *Christianity not Mysterious* (1696) is confused (p. 289) with that of Leslie's *Short and Easy Method* (1698), and Sir Leslie Stephen's study of *Mandeville's 'Fable of the Bees'* in *Free Thinking and Plain Speaking* has not been cited.

The chapter on 'William Law and the Mystics' has already been

mentioned for its international scope. Miss Spurgeon adds to genuine sympathy for the mystics a comprehension which is based on searching erudition. Her account of Law's style and mind and character is masterly. She does justice to Byrom's *Private Journal and Literary Remains* and indicates why Henry Brooke, because he lacked the 'clear and imperious intellect' of Law, must be thought greatly inferior as a thinker. Her bibliography exhibits particular excellence in the section devoted to Boehme's influence in England, an important factor which historians of the seventeenth century have as yet barely touched upon.

The commanding figure of Bentley in Mr Duff's section of the chapter on 'Scholars and Antiquaries' has somewhat obscured the general bearings of the controversy which gave Bentley his widest fame. The quarrel of the Ancients and Moderns was not merely an idle squabble into which Bentley happened to be drawn, but one phase, in itself not very important, of that great shift of European opinion about the end of the seventeenth century from which arose the idea of progress, and which led through the Enlightenment to the French Revolution and its consequences. Bentley does not lose but gains by being associated with such a movement. Mr Duff's preoccupation with Bentley as an isolated figure also appears in his strange statement that Garth's *Dispensary* is chiefly remembered for a couplet on Bentley and Boyle (p. 333). Mr Aldis, writing on 'Antiquaries,' reduces to compact and readable form a very large mass of information not to be found elsewhere without painful search.

Mr Henderson's chapter on 'Scottish Popular Poetry before Burns' traces the progress of the popular tradition from the heavy bondage of Knox to its preparation for Burns at the hands of Fergusson. In general Mr Henderson follows the line of his previous treatment of the subject in Chapters XI–XIII of *Scottish Vernacular Literature*. Of particular interest is his discussion of the reciprocal relations between English and Scottish song in the seventeenth century. Mr Aldis, who furnishes the chapter with an extensive bibliography of general Scottish literature during the period under discussion, omits from his list the *New Poems by James I of England*, edited by Mr A. F. Westcott (New York, 1911).

The last chapter in the book, 'Education,' by Professor Adamson, is a practical account of the English educational system from 1660–1760, with a useful discussion of the actual curriculums of each generation and a valuable survey of educational reformers and their schemes. The author furnishes interesting information with regard to the dissenting academies and the courtly tradition which had persisted from the Middle Ages among the nobility. He handles with discretion the bearing of the Ancient and Modern controversy upon the development of education, but he is not quite justified in his statement that 'from the side which was in the wrong...we derive.....the misapprehension which traces the renascence to the fall of Constantinople in 1453' (p. 391). As early as 1524 Luther, in his 'Letter to the Mayors and

Aldermen of all the Cities of Germany in Behalf of Christian Schools,' had declared that God 'gave Greece a prey to the Turks, in order that Greek scholars, driven from home and scattered abroad, might bear the Greek tongue to other countries, and thereby excite an interest in the study of languages.' While Temple may have naturalized the idea in England, one cannot say positively that he originated it. Professor Adamson's comments on certain English courtesy books remind one that a critical record of such productions would form an important chapter in the history of English manners and opinions.

Some further inaccuracies of detail in the book generally may be mentioned. Akenside's *Pleasures of the Imagination* (1744) is dated 1764 (p. 62). Of Perrault's *Parallèle des Anciens et des Modernes* (1688–94) only the first volume appeared in 1688 (p. 572). Gay's unpublished translations from Ariosto appeared in 1909 (p. 481). Mr Dobson's *Steele* is in the 'English Worthies' series (p. 442). There are obvious misprints of 'Phaetan' for 'Phaeton' (p. 476), 'Fuigallian' for 'Fingallian' (p. 502), and 'Studies of a Bibliographer' for 'Studies of a Biographer' (p. 513).

Carl Van Doren.

New York.

English Literature and the Classics. [Lectures] collected by G. S. Gordon. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1912. 8vo. 252 pp.

The editor writes: 'This book is a collection of nine lectures delivered in Oxford at the invitation of the Board of English Studies in the winter of 1911–12. They were addressed primarily to members of the English School, but in effect to all students of modern literature in the University who cared to hear, from students of ancient literature, something of what the Classics mean in the history of letters.'

It may be said that all the lectures are valuable to students of English literature, because any one literature must illustrate another, because our own literature owes so much to the literature of Greece and Rome, and because in these pages a number of Greek and Roman authors are expounded by men who are masters of their subject. The various lecturers, however, do not all conceive their task in the same way—some being content to interpret the thought of the classical writer they are dealing with, while others go further and trace the influence of the writer on English literature in general or on certain selected English authors. The latter group of lecturers therefore puts students of English literature under a double obligation.

The book opens with Professor Gilbert Murray's lecture on 'Greek and English Tragedy: a Contrast.' Professor Murray perhaps hardly gives us as much as is promised in his title. He emphasizes the religious character of Greek tragedy and shows that within a rigidly restrained form it can give us a truthful psychology. English tragedy, on the other hand, he says, is 'primarily an entertainment.' 'Our

stage demands beautiful women as actresses...our permeating atmosphere is that of love between the sexes.' There is no mention of *Hamlet* or *Lear* or *Macbeth*, or any admission that in them tragedy shows itself in a form which, while different from that of the Greeks, has had scarcely a less spiritualising effect on the minds of men.

Professor Stewart's lecture on 'Platonism in English Poetry' is excellent. Here it is the modern literature which is the main subject. Professor Stewart does not attempt, however, to trace Plato's influence throughout the whole course of English poetry, but fixes the attention of his hearers primarily on Wordsworth, Coleridge and Shelley. In these —and chiefly in Wordsworth—he finds what he calls 'personal Platonism' (in Shelley it is a little hidden by his non-Platonic tendency to personification, but it is still there). In other words, 'the mood of one who has a curious eye for the endless variety of this visible and temporal world and a fine sense of its beauties, yet is haunted by the presence of an invisible and eternal world behind, or, when the mood is most pressing, *within* the visible and temporal world, and sustaining both it and himself—a world not perceived as external to himself, but inwardly lived by him, as that with which, in moments of ecstasy, or even habitually, he is become one.' The poets who have this mood should, he thinks, be studied first. They will be the touchstone to discover genuine Platonism in the many other poets who use the traditional Platonic apparatus.

The lecture on 'Theophrastus and his Imitators' is by Mr Gordon, the general editor, and is an excellent study of character-writing in ancient and modern times, written with much brilliance and wit.

Mr J. S. Phillimore, in his lecture on 'The Greek Romances,' devotes much of his time to minute questions which can hardly have been interesting to his audience: he makes practically no reference to English literature, which, as Dr Wolff has lately shown, has borrowed from the Greek romances so many motives of novel and drama; and his treatment is merely darkened by his attempts at 'smartness' of expression. A classical friend has drawn my attention to one statement on p. 92: 'The Greeks have never been passionately interested in Religion as the social expression of heroic goodwill [a rather obscure phrase], only as matter for the curious speculations of individual dilettanti.' May it not be maintained, he adds, that Religion was for the average Greek primarily a civic affair, and that when the city state broke down, so did his interest in state religion? It must not be thought that Mr Phillimore's paper is without solid value. It seems, however, less suited for its intended audience than the other contents of the collection.

Mr A. C. Clark's account of 'Ciceronianism,' based on Zielinski, is one of the lectures which will appeal most to the English student, and it is written with an Attic concinnity very refreshing after Mr Phillimore's Alexandrianism. One may question the justice of the statement that 'Johnson's ears seem deaf to music.' Is there not a grave music in many of the periods of *Rasselas*?

There is a lofty seriousness about Mr Garrod's lecture on Vergil, and some freedom of speculation, especially in his development of the thesis 'This poet whom we regard as so typically Roman is half a Celt.' Mr Garrod does not touch on Vergil's influence in England, but his lecture is a very valuable one.

Mr S. G. Owen has put a great deal of careful work into his lecture on Ovid. He is clearly wrong, however, in explaining Golding's 'alate' (*Met.* xv. 288) as 'winged,' 'erected,' rather than = 'of late' (see *N.E.D.*). Not only are Ovid's characteristics excellently shown (pp. 171–173), but Ovid's influence on English writers from Chaucer onwards is examined with a thoroughness which makes this paper a valuable contribution to the history of our own literature. We notice that Mr Owen claims to have proved that Shakespeare read the *Fasti* in the original.

The same praise may be given to Mr R. J. E. Tiddy's lecture on 'Satura and Satire.' The title itself indicates a very useful distinction, and Mr Tiddy shows a masterly ease in discriminating the characteristics of different satirists, Roman and English. He is on more dangerous ground when he dismisses Quintilian's statement that 'Satura' was wholly Roman, as having 'rather less truth than most of those sweeping statements by which literary criticism seeks to arrest the attention of a yawning world.' Between the two authorities, we may perhaps incline to the opinion that Quintilian was in a position to know more of the matter than Mr Tiddy.

The concluding lecture on 'Senecan Tragedy' is by Mr Godley, and as we might expect it contains some fine verse-translations, and is written throughout with brilliancy and *verve*. Seneca's characteristics are so happily touched that we must not complain that Mr Godley has left it to some successor to show in detail the influence of Seneca on the Elizabethans.

It is the best testimony to the merits of this most interesting collection that it leaves us asking for more. We should not be sorry to have some of the same subjects treated again by new hands: and we should certainly welcome lectures on subjects which here find no place, such as Plautus and Terence, the Pindaric and Horatian Odes, the Letter-writers, the Idyll, the didactic poem and the Epic, all in their special relation to English literature.

G. C. Moore Smith.

Sheffield.

English Lyrical Poetry. By Edward Bliss Reed. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press (London, H. Frowde). 1911. 8vo. 616 pp.

This volume is a history of the English lyric from *Deor's Lament* to the works of Mr Alfred Noyes, and though, perhaps, the whole of the ground has been covered before, Professor Reed may justly claim to have given unity to the subject, and to have reduced within the compass of

a single volume what has hitherto been dealt with only in detached works treating of the separate periods of lyric history. Long as the resulting volume is, the author must have found it short enough when confronted with the task of bringing within its limits the mass of material necessarily met with in surveying a field of such magnitude. This he has been able successfully to accomplish by omitting all biographical details not bearing directly on the subject in hand, by excluding from his consideration all Irish and Scottish lyrists except those of the very first importance, and by omitting, especially in the chapters devoted to the Nineteenth Century Lyric and the Lyric of To-day, reference to minor poets, at least a few of whom we should gladly have seen included.

Such compression as has been necessary has two attendant dangers; it is apt to make literary history degenerate into something resembling a mere list, and it tends to produce dulness. From both of these faults the present volume is happily free: there is not a dull page in it, and instead of bringing together long lists of titles and poets' names, Professor Reed has adopted the wiser course of selecting as illustrations only a few of the best and most important lyrics by each author, varying the number chosen according to the importance of the lyrist under discussion. It is here that his good and catholic taste is displayed, while a sound and keen judgment enables him to seize on, and present in a very concise form, what is most salient and vital in an author's thought and form or style, the substance always being, apparently, of more importance than the form. Accordingly it is as a record of the kind and amount of thought that the lyric has at different times been able to carry that the book is specially valuable, and it is interesting to note, as Professor Reed develops their history from Elizabethan to modern times, how the themes of the lyric have widened in range and deepened in content. From time to time, indeed, the lyric would seem to have become overweighted intellectually, and, in consequence, impaired. The author cites, as an instance of this, Wordsworth's 'My heart leaps up.' It may be so, but this lowering of the emotional temperature towards the end of a lyric poem is a phenomenon by no means uncommon, and probably has some intimate connection with the natural form of a lyric considered as an isolated creative act of the lyric spirit.

Bearing in mind his obvious preference for the subject-matter of the poems, we are not surprised to find that Professor Reed gives a prominent place to subjectivity among the criteria of lyrical poetry, and though, as he points out, this is not the only test, we are glad that he admits as lyrists poets like Donne, Landor, Clough, and Arnold, whose main claim to the title lies in the strongly subjective character of their work.

A commendable feature of the book as a history is that it is thoroughly organic. No new 'Movement' begins, no thread of influence enters our literature, but the author keeps it in view and we find it woven inextricably into the fabric of the book. Thus, for example, advantage has been taken of a separate chapter on the Tudor Lyric to include an able account of Petrarch; and his wide influence on

English poetic thought and form is carefully followed out in the subsequent pages of the volume. Or again, we have the Elizabethan point of view recurring as late as Keats, who is described as 'an Elizabethan reborn.' The several formal varieties of the lyric receive similar treatment, and were we, for example, to gather together all that is said of the sonnet or of the ode, we should have a continuous and not inconsiderable history of these two forms. It is this that gives value and interest to individual judgments of the author, such as, for instance, that Shelley is supreme in the lyric, or that Wordsworth's Immortality Ode is the greatest English ode, or that 'Tears, idle tears' is the most beautiful unrhymed lyric in the language. We feel that they are the fruits of careful criticism, and, though we may not always agree with them, we accord them the respect due to considered statements.

Very rarely indeed are there slips or lapses in the book, and most of these are rather mis-statements than positive errors. Thus it is surely misleading to say, as Professor Reed does (p. 154), that in his sonnets Sidney follows the Petrarchian rhyme scheme, and at the same time to point out that he almost invariably closes his sestet with a couplet. Sidney, of course, does not follow the rhyme scheme of Petrarch, for among the three hundred and seventeen sonnets of the latter poet, there are fewer than half a dozen with the couplet ending. Nor do we agree with the statement (p. 298) that Milton does not observe 'the sharp separation of the octave and sestet' in his sonnets. As has been pointed out before in *The Modern Language Review*, the division is sharply made in nine out of his eighteen English sonnets by a strong stop at the end of the eighth line, while in most of the remaining nine cases only a very slight licence is taken as to the position of the pause.

From another point of view the volume is interesting; it is a notable illustration of a current tendency in literary critical method to isolate, as far as may be, the different literary *genera* and to examine them as units. However impossible or undesirable it may be to make such isolation complete, the attempt is justifiable and the method valuable for purposes of classification, and for securing clearer definition of each species than would be possible if the form in question were allowed to remain during examination merged with others among which it might chance to lie. It is to be regretted that the author has not availed himself, so fully as he might have done, of the opportunity he has thus created for himself. On reaching the end of a volume in which discriminating scholarship and careful research are evident on almost every page, we are disappointed to find that he does not tell us more of the *nature* of the lyric and its impulse. For surely the first chapter, which is for the most part concerned with formulating a 'working definition,' is no adequate record of the conclusions to which, we imagine, his long and exhaustive study of the lyric must have led him. Nor can we help regretting that in this vital chapter the author departs from his habitually lucid and perspicuous style. The original difficulty of defining the lyric, due to the necessary distinction between lyrical

quality and lyrical form, is undoubtedly enhanced by the shifting point of view from which at different times it has been regarded; but there is a certain homogeneity about the English lyric, which makes us almost wish that Professor Reed could have left the Greek lyric out of count in framing his definition, for it is in the attempted compromise between the Greek and the modern points of view that there arises the confusion of terms which detracts from the clearness of the chapter. 'All songs,' says Professor Reed, 'all poems following classic lyric forms; all short poems expressing the writer's moods and feelings in a rhythm that suggests music, are to be considered lyrics.' The author confesses that this 'completed definition' is not free from ambiguity: nor, having regard to his express warning that the word 'song' must not be given its modern restricted meaning, do we think it free from redundancy. If, as apparently we are bidden to do, we must give our English word 'song' that 'all-embracing' signification by which the Greeks included in it, among other things, their formal odes and chorals, the second clause in the definition seems superfluous; while if we ignore the author's injunction and interpret the word in its more limited, popular, modern sense, then surely its meaning is sufficiently covered by the third part of the definition, since the genuine folk ballads are excluded —rightly we think—from the lyric field. Similarly, the frequently recurring compound, 'song-quality,' is not once clearly defined, and we are never quite sure whether the author intends it to mean general lyrical quality or the quality possessed by the song as a special variety of the lyric. Again, is it not unwise to speak of a poem as a lyric, because it imitates a Greek lyric form (p. 7)? It is true that a poem with lyrical quality may not be a lyric, but it is equally true that there can be no lyric without lyrical quality, and, if the words of a poem be not quickened by the true lyric energy, then no matter what the form in which it may be cast, the poem is not a lyric in the proper sense of the word.

But the faults in the book are mere specks on the sun; and of its value as a contribution to literary history there can be no manner of doubt.

NORMAN HEPPLE.

GATESHEAD.

Idylls of Fishermen: A History of the Literary Species. By HENRY MARION HALL. New York: Columbia University Press. 1912. 8vo. 216 pp.

It was a happy idea of Dr Hall's, whether it was conceived by him or suggested to him, to make a book on the history of Piscatory Eclogues. In the temple of Pastoralism, Piscatory Eclogues have a chapel of their own which was worth study. Mr Hall not only had the idea, but carried it out; and the result is a work which has been 'approved by the Department of English and Comparative Literature

in Columbia University as a contribution to knowledge worthy of publication,' and which presumably has earned him his doctor's degree.

The author has treated his subject in a comprehensive and systematic manner, in that sort of manner, in fact, which in writers of doctor-dissertations tends a little to the mechanical. He has started by pointing out the fisher-pictures in Homer, the Shield of Heracles and Theocritus' pastorals: has gone on to the Idyll attributed to Theocritus which has been the parent of the piscatory *genre*; thence to the Latin piscatory eclogues of Sannazaro, with their crop of similar eclogues in Italy, Spain and France; thence to those of Phineas Fletcher and the Scotch and English authors who followed him, till the fisher-poem, affected by the didacticism of Walton's *Angler*, became rather a Georgic than an Eclogue. Incidentally, but sufficiently, Mr Hall has shown how the piscatory *motif*, like the pastoral, has passed from the eclogue into romance, drama and lyric.

It is convenient to have all this put into a single volume, and to find the part played in the history by a number of minor authors of various countries, of whom previously one has never heard. The bibliography and index are a very useful addition. But while we are grateful to Mr Hall and to the authorities of Columbia University for the book, we think that its execution leaves something to be desired.

In the first place one is a little surprised that in a book appealing to an instructed public, it should be thought necessary to give all quotations from foreign authors in English. Homer is quoted only from Bryant's translation, Vergil from Dryden's, Theocritus and Moschus from Mr Andrew Lang's (whether 'by permission' is not stated). We trust that this course was taken for the readers' and not for the author's convenience, but there are some things which give us pause. The author's introduction of Neptune, Jove and Hercules into Greek environments is hardly in the manner of a modern scholar: and he is not even consistent, for he favours us from time to time with Posidon (*sic*), Zeus and Heracles. His description of Hecate, as 'one of the Trinity to which Artemis belonged' (p. 9) is a little odd. The writer Antiphanes regularly appears as 'Antiphanis,' in the way in which books are sometimes found labelled 'Ciceronis' or 'Virgilii.' It is a little startling to read of 'Lucian's *play* the Fisherman...in which the *poet* sits on a parapet of the Acropolis' (p. 31). 'Pomponius Bononiens' strikes one as a strange name till we find that Pomponius was entitled to be called 'Bononiensis.' The spellings 'Palemon' (p. 90) and 'Pelopponesus' (p. 156) are unusual.

In the case of Sannazaro Mr Hall does not express himself as indebted to any other translator, so we presume that the translations of this author here given are his own. These also present some surprises. In his *Proteus*, Sannazaro asks his patron not to despise the Muse of the shore:—'Quam tibi post sylvas, post horrida lustra Lycæi,...salsas deduxi primus ad undas.' Mr Hall translates:—'Whom after her sojourn in forests or in bristling groves of Bacchus, I,' etc. (p. 58). What are 'groves of Bacchus' doing here? one asks. A small schoolboy

seeing the line 'Ausus inexperta tentare pericula cymba,' might at first be in doubt with which word to take 'inexperta.' He could not get out of his difficulty worse than by adopting Mr Hall's translation, 'Daring in my untried fishing skiff to attempt perils yet untried' (*ibid.*). Nothing could be more careless than the author's rendering of 'sæpe ipse pedum vestigia quæro: Et si quid manibus tetigisti, floribus orno,' 'Often I search for thy very footprints—and if I find any, I adorn them with flowers' (p. 61).

Mr Hall's idiosyncrasies are not seen merely in his relation to the classics. He tells us that the Mosella is the Meuse (p. 43); he speaks of 'Spanish eclogues by Camões' (p. 86) and of 'a dose of "hell-bore"' (p. 28). Other errors are less serious, such as his spelling of Dr Greg's name as 'Gregg' (pp. 73, 139), his ignorance that Killingworth is the same place as Kenilworth (p. 98 *note*), the date 1610 for 1510 (p. 65 *note*), 'Sir J. Hawkin's' for Sir J. Hawkins'' (p. 186 *note*), his non-acquaintance with Dr Boas' edition of Giles and Phineas Fletcher, and an occasional absurdity, such as 'As an island play "Sicelides" belongs, topographically at least, to the same category as Nashe's "Isle of Dogs."' Spellings such as 'nearby,' 'hardby,' and expressions such as 'the last of the lot' (p. 29), 'a bit stiff' (p. 163), are not classical with us.

Mr Hall's book, as we have said, appears to have merits, but it must be read, to use his own words of another book, as 'an interesting work, but not very accurate,' and we may feel some surprise that the heads of the Department of English and Comparative Literature in Columbia University did not assist the author to clear it of some of its surviving errors before it was sent to the press with their *imprimatur*.

G. C. Moore Smith.

Sheffield.

The Science of Etymology. By W. W. Skeat. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1912. 8vo. xviii + 242 pp.

The object of this book, which Professor Skeat just lived to see published, is, we are told in the preface, 'to draw attention to some of the principles that should guide the student of etymology in general, and of English etymology in particular, in order that any one who employs an etymological dictionary may be able to do so with some degree of intelligence and to some profit.' It is clear that Dr Skeat, having incorporated the results of recent philological investigation in the latest edition of his well-known Etymological Dictionary, felt constrained to subject to revision his earlier books dealing with the methods of etymology, especially his *Principles of English Etymology*. The first ninety pages of the work under review give an outline of some of the general principles underlying the study, some 'useful canons,' and numerous examples, taken from various languages. A characteristic chapter on the folly and wickedness of 'pedants' closes the

preliminary portion of the book. Much of this matter has already appeared in earlier works of the author, but a fuller account is here given of the methods of comparison by which 'speech types' are arrived at, and a useful chapter on 'the value of English in the scheme of comparative philology' provides interesting analogies for the student. The remaining part of the book consists of chapters dealing with the principal language-groups of the Indo-European family of speech. Here the author gives in summary form, including long lists of examples, the results of the investigations of specialists, making large use of Brugmann's *Grundriss* as well as of Fick's and of Uhlenbeck's works, to all of which Dr Skeat fully acknowledges his indebtedness. His treatment of the subject is purposely made from an English point of view and is thereby rendered more interesting and helpful to the English student.

As the book is likely to be recommended to youthful but serious learners, and as especial stress is laid by the author on the necessity of accuracy and scientific method (*e.g.* on p. 2), it seems advisable to note some points in which these requirements are not strictly fulfilled. On p. 18 we are told that 'the scribes invented the symbol *gh* to express this guttural (*i.e.* the sound of *h* in the O.E. *riht*), but Norman dislike of it gradually prevailed upon the majority to suppress the sound itself!' (The note of exclamation is Professor Skeat's.) On p. 203 it is stated that the O.E. word *hors* supplanted the word *eoh* because 'perhaps the form *eoh* (or *eh*) had become too attenuated; it represents an early Teut. type **ehw-oz*, and the form that resulted from the loss of the nom. suffix *-oz*-was not a happy one.' The explanation of *i*-umlaut given by Dr Skeat on p. 53 runs thus: 'the man who becomes very familiar with the form **badi* may come in course of time to say *bedi*; because, knowing that he has to sound *i* in the second syllable, he unconsciously somewhat raises the tone of *a*, by imperceptible gradations, till at last it becomes a clear *e*, and there it remains, because *e* is so well known and so common.' This gives a somewhat misleading idea of what really takes place in speech-change, as it implies that such a change as umlaut takes place and is consummated in the speech of the individual, and further that the individual is conscious and unconscious at the same time with regard to his pronunciation.

Such occasional weaknesses, however, do not detract from the usefulness of the book as a storehouse of aptly chosen and informing examples of linguistic correspondences, which throw a flood of light on questions connected with English, and in general with Indo-European, etymology. In particular the chapters on Celtic and Lithuanian-Slavonic correspondences may be recommended to students whose attention has been limited to Germanic, Greek and Latin.

We are unwilling to conclude this notice of Professor Skeat's last piece of work without paying a tribute to the great services rendered by him to the study of English. Of these services the two greatest, we think, apart from his ever-ready helpfulness, were that he made the study of early English authors more interesting as well as more easy to

students, and that he invested the subject of English etymology with a charm which it had never before had, and which was compatible with due observance of scientific method. In these days of specialisation it is unlikely that any one scholar will ever again loom so large in the field of English philology as the late Elrington and Bosworth Professor of Anglo-Saxon.

W. J. Sedgefield.

Manchester.

Patience, a West Midland Poem of the Fourteenth Century. Edited by Hartley Bateson. Manchester: University Press. 1912. 8vo. x + 149 pp.

Mr Bateson, as Faulkner Fellow of the University of Manchester, has produced a very useful edition of a poem which certainly needs more attention than it has hitherto received. In his Introduction he gives an account of its relation to the other poems of the group to which it belongs, and of these to one another, which may be regarded as in the main sound, assigning to the purely alliterative poems, *Patience* and *Cleanness*, the earliest place, placing *Sir Gawayne* next to these, with a special relation to the latter of the two, and *Pearl*, chronologically last in the series. Mr Bateson, however, is rather too apt to digress, and in consequence his argument is less clear than it might be. Instead of setting forth his own views independently, he is much too constantly engaged in dealing with those of other critics, some of which might be left altogether alone and others discussed separately. What is the use, for example, of mentioning the conjecture that Chaucer's 'philosophical Strode' was the author of the poems? Mr Bateson calls it 'plausible,' and yet he admits that there is no evidence for it of any kind. Even if Chaucer's friend were to be identified with the Ralph Strode whose name occurs in the registers of Merton College, it is practically certain that the poem there ascribed to him, the 'Phantasma Radulphi,' was in Latin elegiac verse and cannot have been identical with *Pearl*. (Incidentally it may be said that the originator of the suggestion was not Professor Gollancz but Dr Horstmann.) Again, there are too many allusive references, assuming familiarity on the part of the reader with the work of former critics, when direct statement of the issues would have been the more convenient method. It is doubtful, too, whether the discussion of a possible relation between *Patience* and the various texts of *Piers Plowman* is a profitable one as conducted by the editor. The alliterative combination of patience and poverty is not much to go upon, especially as the connexion is emphasised by Tertullian, to whom the author of *Patience* is known to be indebted. The multiple authorship of *Piers Plowman*, which seems to be assumed by Mr Bateson, is certainly not yet proved.

In several passages of the text the editor has made suggestions which are of value:—

l. 1. The insertion of 'nobel' (cf. l. 531) may be regarded as a certain emendation.

188, MS. 'þer ragnel in his rakentes hym rere of his dremes,' a much disputed passage. Mr Bateson proposes 'rag nel' and translates, 'Where the fellow in his chains (of sleep) will not arise from his dreams.' He is probably on the right track, but he should read 'þe rag' for 'þer rag.'

235, MS. 'to serue,' which makes no sense. The editor proposes 'to serwe,' *i.e.* 'to sorrow,' which is quite a probable suggestion.

267. 'þrwe in at his þrote.' Mr Bateson, rightly no doubt, translates 'lept into his throat.'

On the other hand, the editor has not rightly understood the expression in l. 106, 'the lofe winnes.' The 'luff' is the windward direction, 'to keep one's luff' is to keep the ship's head up to the wind; so 'to win the luff' might well mean to make headway towards the wind, so as to gain distance, after which, when well out of the harbour, the ship might safely go round. Translate therefore simply 'they gain the luff.'

Again the alterations proposed in l. 460 can hardly be right. We must take 'þe deuil haf' here as an expletive, 'in the devil's name,' like 'a godes half,' used merely to strengthen the assertion; 'the devil a bit he cared for food that day.' We have the expression 'What the deuel hatȝ þou don?' in l. 196.

In some of his statements Mr Bateson is rather too loose. Why, for example, does he say (p. 94) that in ll. 1–60 the verses generally resolve themselves into groups of four, or if not of four, then of five and three? After the first twelve lines the arrangement is distinctly in couplets to l. 28, and again from l. 49 to l. 60 the arrangement is entirely in groups of either two or three lines. In fact the arrangement in fours is quite as frequent after l. 60 as before. Again, what does Mr Bateson mean by his remark (p. 36) about the distribution of the *-es* and *-en* forms of plural in the present indicative of the verb? He gives ll. 106–134 as a passage in which *-es* persists; but in this passage there are only two examples of the present indicative plural, at the beginning and the end, ll. 106 and 133, and the former of these is not taken as plural by Mr Bateson. There is no grouping here at all. Again the passage from l. 145 to l. 268 is given as an example of the persistency of *-en* forms; but here again there are hardly any present indicative plural forms at all; in upwards of a hundred and twenty lines there are perhaps five or six scattered about, and of these one (l. 208) has the *-ez* ending. Again there is no grouping.

It would have been better if the editor had ventured to distinguish ȝ and *z* in the text. It is true that in this manuscript, as in many others (e.g., the Trinity Coll. Camb. MS. of *Piers Plowman*), the same symbol does duty for both; but a modern edition ought surely to give us 'sechez,' 'on-sydez,' 'watz,' and not 'sechȝ,' etc.

There are several misprints, of which the most important is 'scape' for 'schape' in l. 160. As a matter of typography, too, it would have been well to distinguish the manuscript readings cited in the notes from the accompanying words, either by inverted commas or by some difference of type.

G. C. Macaulay.

Cambridge.

Tableau de la littérature française au XIX^e siècle. Par Fortunat Strowski. Paris: Paul Delaplane. 1912. 12mo. ix + 538 pp.

'Son art même, son art raffiné, n'a presque rien pu sauver de son œuvre. Il n'y a que l'âme qui fasse vivre.' Such is M. Strowski's verdict on Beranger's poetry, and the concluding words may be taken as the motto of his book. If he were pressed, he would probably admit that style alone, in the large sense of the word, will preserve a literary work, as any other work of art, from absolute death, but he would insist, and rightly insist, that it is only soul that can give it true life, the life that germinates and fructifies. That this is his point of view is clear from his treatment of Mérimée, of whom he says, 'Doubtless he had in him some warmth of soul, some flame of youth and generosity; but the fear of ridicule, the apprehension of appearing to be a dupe, and above all the inadequacy of his spiritual life and of his faculty for admiration condemned him to irony and insensibility, and prevented him from giving free play to emotion and truth.' This is perfectly just, and it does not prevent M. Strowski from recognising Mérimée's great merits as an artist of short stories, and his charm as a letter-writer.

In fine, M. Strowski, whose careful and penetrating studies of Montaigne and Pascal we have all admired, is an eminent representative of that spiritual idealism which underlying many differences is a marked characteristic of French literature of to-day. In a graceful note to his preface he acknowledges his debt to his friend, M. Téodor de Wyzewa, who was among the first to revive this idealism by his articles in the *Revue Wagnérienne*, founded in 1885. In the same year another leader of the movement, M. Melchior de Vogüé, whose importance M. Strowski fully recognises but hardly makes sufficiently clear, contributed to the *Revue des deux mondes* the last of his 'notable studies of *Le roman russe*[1]. It was also the year of Victor Hugo's death and apotheosis—that apotheosis which in its strange mixture of the sublime with the grotesque was so striking an illustration of Hugo's theory of art[2].

The 130 pages which M. Strowski devotes to the period from 1850 to 1885 are perhaps the most valuable of his book, for they

[1] In the same year M. Paul Bourget completed in the *Nouvelle revue* his *Essais de psychologie contemporaine*, which deal with the chief writers of the Second Empire.

[2] Compare M. Biré's description with that of M. Barrès quoted by M. Strowski.

are the best attempt that I know to consider this period as a whole. If we are still too near it to focus properly its individual writers, we can at any rate make a fairly accurate estimate of the general trend of its thought and literature. 'The triumph of positive ideas' is the title which M. Strowski gives to this part of his book, and he could have devised no better one. The Second Empire represents a general reaction alike from the republican and socialistic dreams which had led to the fiasco of 1848, from the eclectic and idealistic philosophy of Cousin, and from the over-heated imagination and exaggerated individualism of Romantic literature. In the forefront of his survey M. Strowski rightly places Comte. For the exclusive study of positive facts, and the elimination of metaphysical ideas, moral aspiration, and undefined sentiment are the keynote of nearly the whole literature of the period. 'Adieu le rêve, l'enthousiasme, la poésie!' But hand in hand with science and positivist philosophy came the more ignoble pursuit of pleasure and material prosperity. 'France amused herself. Laughter, luxury, movement, and life were the only dream of the young generation which conducted Napoleon III so gaily to Metz and Sédan.' And M. Strowski notes as the literary expression of this universal 'joie de vivre' the 'esprit boulevardier,' and as its best representative Labiche. It is pleasant to find Labiche in the same chapter with Comte, and it gives one confidence in M. Strowski's critical faculty to see that he can appreciate a writer who for some critics is nothing but a 'pure amuseur.' For he recognises that Labiche can create living types, and that he has given us a picture of the *bourgeoisie* under the Second Empire, which if caricatured is none the less substantially true. An even more characteristic product of the epoch is the opera-bouffe which Meilhac and Halévy wedded to the music of Offenbach. It was perhaps the irreverent, but by no means malicious, gaiety of *La belle Hélène* and *La grande Duchesse de Gérolstein* that implanted in Englishmen that idea of Gallic levity which it has taken so many years to dispel.

On the other hand, serious social comedy had two highly successful representatives in Augier and Dumas *fils*. At the close of the empire they both had a great reputation, which during the last ten years has been steadily declining. The best work of both was done between 1854 and 1865, but it is doubtful whether even this will last. It is significant that in *Le gendre de M. Poirier*, which is generally regarded as his masterpiece, Augier had the assistance of Sandeau. The only two of his characters besides Poirier who have any claim to life are Giboyer and Maître Guérin. His types are less happily chosen and less sharply defined than those of Labiche, and his style with much greater pretensions to literature is often laboured and heavy-handed. Thus, for all his vigour, sincerity, healthy morality, and knowledge of the stage, it is doubtful whether his comedies will survive except as documents[1]. Of

[1] All the bad that can be said of Augier has been said by M. Sprenck in the *Revue des deux mondes* for Nov. 15, 1905. Though his article is steeped in Parnassian and anti-bourgeois prejudice it contains much truth.

Dumas *fils* M. Strowski says that his comedies are more remote from us than Augier's. The reason for this is that Dumas in addition to his inability to create a character—his best attempts are Olivier de Jalin (*Le Demi-monde*) and M. de Ryons (*L'ami des femmes*), who are himself, and the Comte de la Rivonnière (*Un père prodigue*) who is his father—hampered his art by devoting it to the support of moral theses, often paradoxical or Utopian or even perverse, instead of to the broad observation of humanity. As a thinker on social questions he had great influence, especially after the war, when he played a resolute part in the endeavour to reconstruct the basis of society, but it is doubtful whether his fame as a dramatist will ever return.

M. Strowski does not put Flaubert among the moralists, but he was a more effective moralist than Dumas *fils*, because he was an unconscious one. There are few novels that point a more salutary moral than *Madame Bovary* or *L'éducation sentimentale*. It was Flaubert's misfortune that he was tormented by a too conscientious devotion to rules and theories. 'Impassivity' and 'Art for art' may be regarded as two sides of the same theory. They are less dangerous than the cognate one of 'Art for the artist,' which Flaubert expressed in 'Il faut écrire pour soi avant tout.' If it is the function of art to interpret nature and humanity, then to keep aloof from the world is as bad for the artist as to let 'the world be too much with him.' If he expresses emotions and sensations which are interesting only to himself, his art, however impeccable in form, will interest only a few—possibly only himself.

Happily all artists who are men of genius unconsciously escape from their theories. Even Leconte de Lisle, with all his unbending dogmatism, could not maintain his impersonality and impassivity. His poetry reveals clearly enough his pessimism, his hatred of Christianity, his loathing of the Second Empire. But the past and distant civilisations, which to use M. Strowski's expressive phrase he has made 'the asylum of his thought,' are too remote in interest, and the beauty of his verse is too cold and monotonous to make him popular with the average lover of poetry. The blue sky and the pure atmosphere of the desert have a wonderful charm at first, but soon the traveller wearies of the endless sand and sighs for a trickling stream and a blade of grass.

Leconte de Lisle was born in 1818, and most of the writers who had reached fame before the downfall of the Second Empire were born within half-a-dozen years of this date. Taine was born in 1828. But M. Strowski rightly includes in his survey of this period two writers who belong to an older generation, and who both began their career as ardent Romanticists—Sainte-Beuve and Gautier. Gautier, whose *Émaux et Camées* appeared in 1852, was closely allied both by friendship and community of views with Flaubert and Leconte de Lisle, and 'l'oncle Beuve,' whose catholic taste, craving for popularity, and innate love of observation and fact all led him to sympathise with the younger generation, was an acceptable *convive* at the famous fortnightly dinners *chez* Magny, where with Gautier, Flaubert, Taine, Renan and others he

talked all unconscious that there was 'a chiel amang them takin' notes[1].'

M. Strowski duly notes the influence of Sainte-Beuve and of Gautier on the Parnassian school. Their appreciation of literary merit and originality led them also to encourage a poet whom M. Strowski rightly acclaims as superior to Leconte de Lisle and his disciples, and as 'perhaps the most original poet in our literature.' But it is hardly consistent with this estimate that he finds in *Les fleurs du mal* 'a certain prosaic gait, as if the author had first written them in prose and then turned them into verse.' Baudelaire, it is true, is unequal, like most poets, but except when he chooses an unpoetical theme his verse has the authentic note of true poetry. He is only prosaic when his morbid and perverse imagination drags his Muse into strange and unwholesome corners, where the healthy reader does not care to follow her. Once more 'Art for the artist' is a dangerous maxim.

Sainte-Beuve recognised the genius of Flaubert and Baudelaire, but he had closer relations with Renan and Taine, his peers in learning and intelligence, and equally endowed with the critical and historical spirit. Renan, indeed, with his supple intellect, his untiring curiosity, and his chameleon-like sympathies, was a thoroughly kindred spirit. But, while Sainte-Beuve felt readily the influence of persons, Renan was more susceptible to that of ideas. Sainte-Beuve's romanticism was derived from Victor Hugo, Renan's from German philosophy. M. Strowski, like Brunetière, cannot forgive Renan for playing with dilettantism, as he played with other forms of scepticism, in his later years. He does less than justice to his style, for he proclaims Louis Veuillot, the famous editor of *L'Univers*—'mélange de Bourdaloue et de Turlupin'—to whom he devotes more than three pages of exaggerated praise, to have been with Flaubert the best prose-writer of the Second Empire. But a keenly tempered sword is a prettier weapon than a bludgeon, and Renan will seem to most judges not only far superior to Veuillot, but the equal of Flaubert himself. For Flaubert was not a heaven-born writer, as one may see by his letters, and it was only by supreme critical intelligence and devoted patience and perseverance that he worked up to perfection his impeccable prose. But to Renan, as to Gautier, style came by nature: it is the ease, the suppleness, the lucidity of his writing, which give it its indefinable charm.

Taine's style on the other hand, like Flaubert's, is, as M. Strowski well says, 'a masterpiece of care, patience and intelligence.' How far it will confer immortality on his books is as difficult to foresee as it is in the case of Renan and of all thinkers who are not also creators. All one can say at present is that Taine and Renan were the two men who exercised the greatest influence over the thought of their generation during the years from 1850 to 1885.

These are the writers who, as we look back at a distance of over

[1] M. Strowski speaks of the *Journal des Goncourt* as 'invaluable.' He should have added that its publication was unqualifiable, hardly less so than the printing for private circulation of Sainte-Beuve's *Livre d'amour*.

forty years, stand forth as the chief representatives of French literature under the Second Empire. To them must be added Octave Feuillet, the novelist of high life, to whose artistic and moral sense M. Strowski does more justice than most recent critics; Théodore de Banville, another artist, whom he qualifies as 'the most delicious of our poets before Paul Verlaine'; Prévost-Paradol, the brilliant journalist and friend of Taine's, whose end was so tragic; About, another journalist who was also an amusing novelist; Sarcey, the dramatic critic, who stood for the *gros bon sens* of the general public; the brothers de Goncourt, who substituted 'impressionism' for realism, and wrote sophisticated studies of low life in a style that is strongly suggestive of *pointillisme*[1]; the Alsatian novelists Erckmann and Chatrian, who have lost at any rate in France much of their popularity; the Swiss novelist Victor Cherbuliez, who used to charm us with his wit and humour, but whom M. Strowski dismisses as 'conteur spirituel et essayiste avisé'; Ferdinand Fabre, the novelist of clerical life in the Cevennes, whose excellent novels, *L'Abbé Tigrane* and *Lucifer*, M. Strowski does not sufficiently appreciate; and lastly the painter, Eugène Fromentin, author of *Dominique*, that masterpiece of delicate psychology, of those two remarkable books of descriptive travel, *Un été dans le Sahara* and *Une année dans le Sahel*, and of *Les maîtres d'autrefois*, which M. Strowski forgets to mention by name, but which is one of the best, if not actually the best, critical work on painting that has ever been written. Nor must we forget that several writers of the older generation, besides Sainte-Beuve and Gautier, continued to produce work till the close of the Empire. It was in the fifties that Hugo, of whose craftsmanship Flaubert and Leconte de Lisle were admirers to the last, produced *Les Contemplations*, the first series of *La légende des siècles* and *Les Misérables*. Dumas *père* lived till 1870, Michelet till 1874, and George Sand till 1876: her novels indeed filled every book-stall in France till well into the eighties, and provided a grateful counterpoise to the realistic fiction of the day. 'They are no longer read,' says M. Strowski. But her rustic stories, at any rate, should still be read by foreigners, if not by Frenchmen, for their charming pictures of French scenery and French country life. It is well to remember that English readers necessarily look at French literature at a different angle from Frenchmen, and that therefore even the best accredited French criticism is not necessarily paramount for Englishmen. We have a good example in M. Strowski's brief verdict on Dumas *père*, which is that in his novels 'he has sacrificed the regard for art and thought to charm, life, and movement.' But 'charm, life, and movement'—those are the qualities which an Englishman rates very high in a novel, and which he misses in so many French novels of the last half-century.

During the fifteen years which followed the great disaster pessimism and disenchantment reigned supreme in French literature. But while Renan giving way to the general feeling of despair applied the solvent

[1] The Goncourts did not become famous till about 1880, ten years after the death of Jules. It was about the same time that Stendhal's influence began.

of his suave irony to recognised beliefs[1], Taine with superb energy set himself to diagnose the causes of his country's malady, and produced in the successive volumes of his *Origines de la France contemporaine* a noble example of patriotism and disinterested labour. In creative literature there were new developements but no real change. The imaginative realism of Flaubert was succeeded by the dull and would-be scientific naturalism of Zola, who was a romanticist by temperament, and a realist only by force of reason. So too Alphonse Daudet, who had the wit and humour which were denied to Zola, would have produced work with fewer inequalities if he had allowed more freedom to his imaginative temperament[2]. It was Guy de Maupassant, Flaubert's godson and disciple, and ten years younger than Zola and Daudet, who, hampered by no romantic traditions of his youth, attained in his masterly but depressing novels and tales to that complete impassivity and objectivity which was Flaubert's ideal[3]. In poetry, Sully-Prudhomme and Coppée struck out independent lines, neither of which was altogether successful. For their training in the Parnassian school prevented them from recognising that the philosophic thought of the one and the rather commonplace sentimentalism of the other would have been better expressed in verse that was less rigid and monotonous—possibly even in prose. Heredia was wiser, for he confined himself to poetry to which the Parnassian versification is pre-eminently suited. But though all his sonnets have the relief and precision of Pisanello's medals, it is only those which end on the note of 'some grand image'—to borrow M. Strowski's phrase—that really appeal to the imagination[4].

One must not make out the period to be more homogeneous than it really was. In most of its principal writers there was a considerable element of idealism. In none of the shifting phases of his thought did Renan ever cease to be an idealist at heart. 'Le rêve de l'infini nous attirera toujours,' he said in his *Discours de réception* at the Academy (1879). Taine, though he believed himself in all good faith to be strictly scientific in his methods, suited his facts to his ideas, and not his ideas to his facts. Baudelaire was no materialist for all his love of the sensuous world. Dumas *fils* was none the less an idealist because he was a pessimist. Yet in all these, and in Sainte-Beuve, Gautier, Flaubert, Leconte de Lisle, we find the same pre-occupation with the positive fact and the visible world. The note of the age was positivism[5]. This was due in a large measure to a reaction from the excesses and exaggerations of Romanticism, from emotional lyricism to impassivity, from imagination to fact, from lax versification and flowing prose to careful and conscientious workmanship. But it was no violent or sudden reaction. It had begun as far back as 1835,

[1] *Dialogues philosophiques* (1876) and *Drames philosophiques* (1878–1886).
[2] Daudet's *Le Petit Chose* was published in 1868.
[3] Maupassant's *Bel ami* appeared in 1885.
[4] *Les Trophées* was not published till 1893, but many of the sonnets had appeared in print before.
[5] 'Cette époque de triomphe indiscutable du fait' (P. Bourget).

when Sainte-Beuve bade farewell to romantic criticism. M. Strowski indeed, puts it earlier than this, and labels the whole literature from 1830 to 1850 as 'a humanitarian and positivist movement.' But this is to diminish unduly the force and duration of Romanticism proper. Even the 'humanitarian and positivist movement,' or in other words the observation of facts and the study of social questions, was the developement of a movement which had existed in Romanticism from the first, but which had been stifled by the successes of Victor Hugo and his immediate circle.

I have left myself little space in which to speak of M. Strowski's treatment of the first half of the nineteenth century, which occupies the first 324 pages of his book. It may be praised almost unreservedly. The criticism is eminently sane and helpful, and is often illumined by happy sayings, such as 'Cela est le vrai grand réalisme: et non pas celui qui accumule les notes' of Balzac, and 'Le plus authentique poète de la langue française' of Lamartine; noteworthy too is the suggestion that possibly a hundred years hence *Lorenzaccio* may be regarded as the masterpiece of dramatic art in France. The only great Romanticist writer who is handled in a perfunctory and diplomatic fashion is Victor Hugo. Perhaps this was inevitable. The only critic at present who has faced the task in a really judicious spirit is M. Faguet. M. Strowski asks whether Hugo will have the destiny of Virgil or of Ronsard, whether he will 'be regarded as a great world-poet, or as 'a statue whom one salutes from afar.' Ronsard is more than this, and if Hugo's destiny be equal to his it will be no inglorious one. But to arrive at a just estimate of his work one must eliminate from it ruthlessly all that is insincere. There is no question about the artist, it is the man that makes one hesitate.

In the fifth and concluding part of his work M. Strowski briefly reviews contemporary literature. In two excellent chapters he discusses some of the general characteristics of the age and some of the principal writers, selecting as the most representative M. Anatole France, M. Lemaître, M. Faguet, M. de Wyzewa, M. Bourget, M. Barrès, and Ferdinand Brunetière. There the book should have ended. The remaining three chapters form a dreary procession of two hundred and fifty phantoms, some happily labelled, others merely ticketed with their names. Why has M. Strowski done such injustice to himself? Let us hope that the task was imposed upon him from without.

I note some names in these lists which should have appeared in the Fourth Part, notably, Tocqueville, Fustel de Coulanges, Montégut, Fabre, Cherbuliez, and Mme Ackermann. Similarly one would have expected to find Mme Desbordes-Valmore, Brizeux, Barbier, and Victor de Laprade not in the Fourth Part, but in the Third. Certain writers are no doubt omitted intentionally, such as Scribe and Scherer. The omission of Scribe is a mistake, for he has had a great influence on the French stage. That he does not belong to literature, I cheerfully admit.

ARTHUR TILLEY.

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Hamann und die Aufklärung. Studien zur Vorgeschichte des romantischen Geistes im achtzehnten Jahrhundert. Von RUDOLF UNGER. 2 Vols. Jena: E. Diederichs. 1911. 8vo. 989 pp.

La Vie et l'Oeuvre de J. G. Hamann, le 'Mage du Nord.' Par JEAN BLUM. Paris: F. Alcan. 1912. 8vo. xxii + 704 pp.

The last few years have brought us a long way forward in our knowledge of one of the most fascinating figures of the mid-eighteenth century in Germany, Johann Georg Hamann, 'der Magus im Norden.' There is something peculiarly elusive about Hamann; his earlier biographers and critics proved themselves totally unable to cope with him; they applied to him the criteria which had done excellent service in estimating the other thinkers and men of letters of his time; but these failed entirely when applied to Hamann. The result was merely flat and insipid, something that did not in the least correspond to the enormous power which Hamann wielded over German intellectual life. But although such attempts to sound Hamann's personality had signally failed, Jakob Minor in his little book on *Hamann in seiner Bedeutung für die Sturm- und Drangperiode*, did succeed in defining and formulating the influence which Hamann exerted on that movement and caused him to be greeted with such unmeasured acclamation as its prophet. This was the first step in the right direction.

Dr R. Unger of Munich has now put the study of Hamann on a solid basis; some seven or eight years ago he published a highly suggestive and promising study of Hamann's 'Sprachtheorie'; and this was followed in 1911 by the present two large volumes. These form a monumental example of German intellectual energy. Unger has devoted unwearying industry to the elucidation of Hamann's cryptic writings; and he has faced, as no one before him, the question: how is Hamann's significance for his time to be explained? How could this poor, middle-class youth, born in a remote corner of Europe, educated in a most perfunctory fashion, sent raw or, at best, half-baked to the university of Königsberg, become an intellectual pioneer of the first rank? How came it that, amidst a wearing life of economic struggle and irritating friction, as tutor in noblemen's houses, this man was able to understand with such surprising sureness of intuition, the new ideas which were in the air in France and England, and even to anticipate the individualistic revolt against rationalism of Rousseau and Diderot? Seen aright, there is no more momentous event in the intellectual history of the eighteenth century than Hamann's journey to London and that spiritual crisis in a London garret, when he turned to his Bible, sought refuge from the prison bars of the 'Aufklärung' in the religion of his fathers, and built up his life anew on faith and the miracle.

It is difficult to attempt to do justice here to Professor Unger's work, the range of which extends far beyond the province of mere literary history or criticism. Everywhere this book opens up new

vistas, not merely with regard to Hamann's relations to the past, but in a still higher degree with regard to his relations to the future; in fact, it is in this latter respect that I am inclined to see the most significant side of Unger's criticism. He has presented Hamann's thought—and presented it with an overwhelming array of evidence—as the common ground, the connecting matrix, of the two great phases of German individualism: 'Sturm und Drang' and Romanticism. On the other hand, there is room for a certain disappointment with the general introductory chapters of the book. Professor Unger's excessive thoroughness has perhaps taken him further back into the past than was necessary; or, at least, one might question the necessity of so exhaustive a review of the intellectual evolution before Hamann, when the critic has little new light to throw on it. But Professor Unger's burden of learning is so large that it is perhaps hardly reasonable for us to expect him, here, at least, to offer us in addition a reconstruction of Germany's spiritual history in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, or to complain because he has accepted, on the whole, the interpretation of that history which has done service hitherto. The fact remains that what he has achieved for Hamann will for long be regarded as final. He has approached him in the right way; recognised in him the mysterious, elusive being he is; has wrestled with him and conquered, not by the rules of logic and reasoning, but by recognising the divine unreason that inspired him, and by thus getting behind the sphinx-riddles with which his writings bristle.

The French book on Hamann is much lighter in calibre, which is not, however, to say that it is light reading. Perhaps M. Blum has fallen just a little into that fault of the Gildemeisters and others who dealt with Hamann a generation ago, of treating him too much from the common-sense point of view. There is little of the magic and mystery of Hamann left in this plain, matter-of-fact, albeit scholarly piece of work. It bears from first page to last the stamp of the good French degree thesis: that is to say, is written strictly according to the rules, and carries the clear, logical methods of reasoning, of which such exercises are so admirable a test, to a triumphant conclusion. But in the end the real spirit of the 'Magus' has escaped M. Blum; and when in his summing up of Hamann's faith, he tells us that it was built up round the two concepts of Creation and Revelation, I am doubtful if such a reduction of Hamann's doctrine to a mere phrase is not rather the reverse of helpful to the student who is trying to understand him. But M. Blum's good points, his lucid presentment of Hamann's life and work, ought not to be overlooked. The English reader who seeks an introduction to Hamann will possibly learn more from M. Blum than from Professor Unger; for a critic who divests a mystic writer of his obscurity is always a more helpful one than one who tries to grapple with such things, to meet them, as it were, on their own ground. And M. Blum's book is also in its way—and in a different way from Professor Unger's—a contribution to the study of Hamann's significance for the future; he looks at Hamann more exclusively from the standpoint of

philosophy and religion, and pleads for him being regarded as a direct forerunner of the first champion of nineteenth-century individualism, Sören Kierkegaard.

J. G. Robertson.

London.

Schriften des literarischen Vereins in Wien. Vols. I–XVII. Vienna: Verlag des literarischen Vereins, 1904–1912. 8vo.

The stately series of well-printed and tastefully bound green volumes which I have before me represent the activity of the Vienna 'literarische Verein' during the first nine years of its existence. These may be regarded as alike a symptom and an illustration of that closer study of literature from the standpoint of nationality and race, which is characteristic of the best German critical work of our time. The age of Goethe knew only one German literature; to-day the tendency is to distinguish carefully a multitude of different literatures written in the German tongue; to lay weight on the reflexion of tribal peculiarities in the poetry of Switzerland, Swabia, Westphalia, etc. and to discriminate these literatures within a literature accordingly. It is obvious that no 'province' cries out more vehemently for such 'separist' treatment than German-speaking Austria. And there has been, during the last twenty or thirty years, no doubt, a great intensification of the study of Austrian literature as such; these years have seen a revival of interest in Austria's great national poet, Grillparzer; the publication of an elaborate and admirable History of Austrian Literature[1]; and with an increasingly active interchange of spiritual products between Berlin and Vienna there has come a desire not to lose sight of the distinction between north and south, and, at the same time, to define the specifically Austrian element in the poetic work of our time. To this general tendency belongs the establishment of the Literary Society of Vienna, the object of which is the publication and elucidation of Austria's national literature.

Of these volumes the five—a sixth is promised—containing *Grillparzers Gespräche und Charakteristiken seiner Persönlichkeit durch die Zeitgenossen* (Vols. I. III, VI, XII, XV), collected and edited by Professor August Sauer, obviously claim first attention. That in spite of his labours as editor of the Grillparzer edition at present being published under the auspices of the City of Vienna, Professor Sauer should have found time to compile this indispensable basis for an understanding of the poet, is a tribute to his inexhaustible energy. He has done here for Grillparzer what Biedermann did for Goethe; only he has cast his net wider, not restricting himself merely to recorded conversations. The result is a complete picture of the poet as he was reflected in the

[1] *Deutsch-Österreichische Literaturgeschichte. Ein Handbuch zur Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung in Österreich-Ungarn.* Unter Mitwirkung hervorragender Fachgenossen herausgegeben von J. W. Nagl und Jakob Zeidler. Vienna, C. Fromme, 1899 ff.

minds and hearts of his contemporaries; here we see Grillparzer as he lived and moved, the living impersonation of the literature of the 'Vormärz'; it is true, no 'poet as hero,' but none the less, an attractive and lovable representative of the will-less, pessimistic Romanticism of the age of Metternich. In these volumes the student of Grillparzer will find, fitted into their place in the chronological sequence, collections of conversations, such as that of Frau Auguste von Littrow-Bischoff (*Aus dem persönlichen Verkehre mit Franz Grillparzer*, Vienna, 1873), now out of print, as well as much new material from private sources, and an almost superabundant collection of newspaper matter. There is little we can offer from England to supplement such a collection; although as a matter of fact, the interest which Grillparzer's dramas awakened in England in the earlier decades of the nineteenth century was much greater than is generally believed. From a collection of material bearing on this theme I select as particularly in place in the present work the following; it is from an article entitled 'Reminiscences of Vienna' by the Rev. Archer Gurney in *Macmillan's Magazine* for 1866 (pp. 417–424), which, in a note in Vol. III of his work, Professor Sauer mentions as not having been accessible to him:

To me one of the most delightful reminiscences of Vienna is that of the great dramatic poet, Grillparzer—one indeed, to my mind, of the greatest of the great. My friends have been apt to set the opinion down to personal friendship or the enthusiasm of youth when I told them, what I still think, that Grillparzer (pronounce Grillpartzer), was a greater dramatist than either Schiller or Goethe; but such is my deliberate conviction, to which indeed I am ready to pledge my little reputation as a critic. I hold that a higher power and a more genial art are shown in such works as 'The Dream a Life,' and 'The Waves of Love and Ocean,' than in 'Faust' and 'Egmont' and 'Don Carlos.' A certain underlying irony is rarely absent from the most pathetic works of Grillparzer, which supplies the saving salt to literature and wards from grave errors of taste, and from the absurdities which shock us every now and then in the masterpieces of those more famous men I have named—a sense at once of the greatness and littleness of things. Scott has it, Shakespeare has it, Tennyson also in due measure, and Grillparzer in perfection. Schiller is always on the stretch, and Goethe is too often small; one unreal and the other prosaic. Of course they remain poets of the very highest order. But Grillparzer is famous in Austria, though scarcely out of it. It is the settled conclusion of North Germany that Austria is Bœotian; and Grillparzer, having written a tragedy in praise of loyalty, 'The Faithful Vassal of his Lord,' has become a name forbidden. He was an ardent constitutionalist when I knew him, not long after the publication of that drama—a lover of England but not of pure democracy; a rather reserved, retiring man, and yet to me, the youthful Englishman who sought him out to lay my soul's homage at his feet, open as the day and kind; perfectly unassuming. It may go for a little, but I never knew a man in whose presence my heart swelled so with reverence. Conscious of his own powers, content to be neglected or even forgotten—tears almost start to my eyes when I remember him now, and feel the littleness of vanity. He took the warmest interest in our English Constitution, and again, in a very different matter, our English dramatic literature. In particular he thought that our best comedies were far too little known upon the Continent. He instanced several pieces of Mrs Centlivre's as being masterpieces in their way. Exquisitely, to my mind, that is, with subtle truth, has he delineated the good and evil of Vienna, in a lyric which may be thus freely rendered. It is called 'A Parting from Vienna.' It was written before the writer's Italian journey, and I give it here as bearing so directly on my subject, and suggesting much, with the concentration poetry alone attains to, that might be expanded into an essay of

many pages.... I have met with many celebrities in the course of more than forty years, but never with an individuality which impressed me with such a sense of quiet far-reaching power as that of my dear friend Grillparzer. The world has scarcely given him his due, but I am satisfied that future generations will seek to atone for this by the warmth and ardour of their praises. Not only books have their fates, as Horace (*sic*) has it, but poets also.

The note which Gurney strikes is, it may be, an extravagant one, but there is still no German dramatist of the nineteenth century for whom it is so easy to awaken warm feelings in this country as for Franz Grillparzer.

Of other well-known personalities in Austrian literature, Eduard Bauernfeld is here represented by his *Gesammelte Aufsätze*, a selection edited by Dr Stephan Hock (Vol. IV). The stamp of the journalist was unhappily strong on Bauernfeld; and the contents of the present volume can hardly be described otherwise than as excellent journalism. Grillparzer, in so many ways his antithesis, used to envy Bauernfeld his journalistic talent of being all things to all men, of adapting himself to the clamorous demands of the many-headed public; but with less journalistic facility Bauernfeld might have left a deeper mark on the drama of his time. There was no German writer of the nineteenth century whose talent marked him out so clearly to be a master of its comedy. But, unfortunately, the Austrian poets of the 'Vormärz' had to fight against other disadvantages besides the tyranny of Metternich; and one of the most serious was the prodigious amount of writing that had to be done to make a bare living. 'Vielschreiber' although he was, Bauernfeld stands out, none the less, as a very amiable type of the Viennese man of letters of the older time. Volume V of the collection, also edited by Dr Hock, is devoted to another eminent writer of this period, Anastasius Grün, or Graf Anton Auersperg. His *Politische Reden und Schriften* are here collected for the first time. The interest of the volume is obviously political rather than literary, and it forms a useful supplement to Schlossar's recent edition of Anastasius Grün's *Sämtliche Werke*, where the poet's activity as a publicist is only represented by two items from the year 1848.

Volumes VII and XVI are occupied with a writer who was no Austrian, not even an Austrian by adoption, Friedrich Schlegel; being his *Briefe an Frau Christine von Stransky*, edited by M. Rottmanner. This correspondence falls in the last eight years of Schlegel's life, 1821–9, years in which Schlegel had virtually passed beyond the ken of the literary historian, and his brilliant mind had become the prey of a blighting religious quietism, and a more reprehensible mysticism and occultism. Nowhere was the tragedy of Romanticism more pitifully exemplified than in the tragic fall of this, the most gifted of all its leaders. Unless on the ground that everything is welcome that has bearing on so distinguished a writer, one is inclined to question the need of printing at length letters so dreary, uninspired and unenlightening as are these. As far as the general reader is concerned, these volumes are the least acceptable that the Society has so far published.

Other two volumes (VIII and XIV) deal with men who are claimed as the leading representatives of literary criticism in Austria, Friedrich Kürnberger and Emil Kuh. It is not altogether fair to name them together, and we doubt if the world outside of Austria sees either of them with quite so favourable eyes as the editors of these volumes. Still, Kürnberger's *Literarische Herzenssachen*, published in 1877, is, in many ways, the pivot round which modern Austrian criticism turns; here that peculiar fatalism in Austrian thought is applied to the criticism of poetry, and the result is some writing of surprising insight and power. There are also few 'Novellen' of the era of German pessimism which are still so fresh and readable as his. The present volume (*Ferdinand Kürnbergers Briefe an eine Freundin*, 1859–79, edited by O. E. Deutsch) is not, or only indirectly, criticism; but it shows Kürnberger to have been a letter-writer of quite unusual charm, and puts his personality in a light which leads the reader to turn again to his published works. Emil Kuh, who is mainly remembered as the quondam friend and the biographer of Hebbel, was a writer of much smaller gifts than Kürnberger. The editor of the present selection of *Literarische Aufsätze* (1863–7), Dr Alfred Schaer, makes a warm claim for him, and is responsible for the juxtaposition of his name and Kürnberger's, to which I have referred; but these essays hardly justify it. It is true, he is always to be found here on the side of the angels, he stands what has come to be regarded as the test of German critical acumen at the middle of the century, that of being able to appreciate Keller's genius—Kürnberger's warm encomium of the *Sieben Legenden*, for instance, was one of the chief features of his *Literarische Herzenssachen*—but one misses a strong personality behind this writing, there is even little that is specifically 'Wienerisch' about it, although Kuh was a born Austrian; the consequence is that it degenerates too often into a characterless kind of writing which is not to be distinguished from ordinary journalism.

A much weightier volume of criticism is the third I have to discuss, Betty Paoli's *Gesammelte Aufsätze*, edited by Frau Helene Bettelheim-Gabillon (Vol. IX). To most readers this volume will probably come as a revelation. Betty Paoli—or with her real name, Elisabeth Glück—is familiar to all lovers of German poetry as a singer of rare distinction, as Austria's greatest woman poet. But to read her essays, of which the present is too brief a selection, reveals in her a great deal more than a lyric poet. She here brings to bear her delicately strung, sensitive mind on the interpretation of natures congenial to her own, and with a charm and persuasive power that give them a place by themselves in the Austrian essay-writing of her time. It is true, there is a tendency to repetition, a narrowness of approach, conditioned by the critic's own temperament; she is inclined to harp on certain aspects of literature, that no doubt meant bitter experiences in her own struggle to make a living by her pen. She returns again and again to the vanity of literary production, the curse of mediocrity; there is an elegiac note in her lament on the

taste of the public, and she dwells with feeling sympathy on writers like Annette von Droste-Hülshoff who passed out of life without being appreciated at their true worth. But whatever Betty Paoli writes, it is always in the best sense personal criticism; this is what gives it its rare distinction.

Lyric poetry is, so far, only represented by one volume (XI), *Achtzehnhundertneun; die politische Lyrik des Kriegsjahres*, edited by R. F. Arnold and K. Wagner, a collection published with a view to the centenary in 1909. Just as the Austrian events of 1809 formed a prologue to the European War of Liberation which culminated at Leipzig, so this volume shows to how great an extent the Austrian lyric of 1809 was a prologue to the fuller sounding, but hardly more meritorious German war-poetry of 1813. The range of this war-poetry is, however, wider than that of the North German 'Zeitlieder'; echoes of Klopstock, Schiller and the Romanticists are blended and worked up together, often, it is true, incongruously enough; but the very absence of the aggressively protestant note of Arndt and his fellow-poets gives a breadth and poetic elasticity to the Austrian collection. According to the literary histories, 1809 in Austrian poetry means Collin's *Wehrmannslieder* and little else; the editors of these volumes have first shown how very extensive the lyric echo of the war really was. I would draw special attention to the valuable bibliographical notes, valuable not merely for the history of the lyric, but of the political movement itself.

There is ground for complaint that the drama is so slightly represented in these volumes; for, after all, the most precious contributions of Vienna to the literature of Germany are associated with the theatre; and there is so much connected with the Viennese Volksdrama which is still difficult of access and yet indispensable to the student of the European drama of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. It is gratifying to see, however, in the list of volumes promised for coming years a more liberal attention to drama and theatre. Meanwhile a valuable beginning has been made with two volumes of *Wiener Haupt- und Staatsaktionen*, edited by Rudolf Payer von Thurn (X and XIII). These volumes contain the fourteen plays associated with the famous Viennese 'Hans Wurst,' Josef Anton Stranitzky. The particular value of these plays, which are printed from a MS. in the Vienna Hofbibliothek, is that they are virtually the only specimens we possess of the so-called 'Haupt- und Staatsaktionen.' At the same time, it may reasonably be questioned if these pieces, which are very obviously the detritus of Italian operas, are typical specimens of their class; the conditions of the Viennese theatre at the beginning of the eighteenth century made the adaptation of such operas the most natural thing in the world, but it is not to be inferred that the 'Haupt- und Staatsaktionen' which Gottsched was so proud of banishing from the North German stage, were necessarily of similar origin. An interesting feature of these plays is that the Hans Wurst—a typical figure in the costume of a Salzburg peasant with a great red heart and the letters 'HW' sewn

on his breast—is not merely the 'Spassmacher' who entertains the audience between the acts, but, like the 'Jan Bouset' in Ayrer's later dramas, plays an essential part in the action of the play. These pieces represent the first phase in the development of that wonderful Volksdrama, which provided the foundation for the Austrian national theatre, and one looks forward to the Literarische Verein throwing much light on its later stages through Gleich, Meisl and Bäuerle[1] down to Raimund and Nestroy. It should be added that Herr Payer von Thurn has in his introduction reconstructed with fine critical judgment the life and personality of Stranitzky who lived from about 1676 to 1726. Stranitzky combined play-acting with dentistry and wine-growing to such good purpose that he left a considerable fortune behind him.

The last volumes I have to deal with—II and XVII—represent the literature of the Austrian province. Professor A. E. Schönbach's edition of the 'Dichtung und Wahrheit'—*Aus meinem Leben*—of the Bregenz writer, F. M. Felder is a welcome contribution to the peasant-literature of the Gotthelf-Auerbach era, and a fresh and entertaining book; while Dr Moritz Necker, with his *Hermann von Gilms Familien- und Freundesbriefe*—again a centenary volume, Gilm having been born in 1812—helps to realise a wish of Adolf Pichler's by publishing the correspondence of Tirol's greatest modern singer. Some years ago the inclusion of Gilm's poems in Reclam's *Universalbibliothek* made him widely known to the German reading-world, whose previous knowledge did not extend far beyond his popular song 'Allerseelen.' These letters bring nearer to us the personality of this gifted singer, in whose life the chief note seems to have been an inability to face its problems in a practical, common-sense way, and who, in consequence, was condemned to spend his best years in out-of-the-way places as an ill-paid government official. Particularly vivid is his description in one of these letters of the March Revolution in Vienna, a description which might fitly be compared with that of Betty Paoli in the letters published in the Introduction to the volume of her essays.

J. G. Robertson.

London.

Germanic Philology. By Richard Loewe. Translated and edited by J. D. Jones. London: George Allen and Co. 1913. 8vo. 170 pp.

Loewe's *Germanische Sprachwissenschaft* in the well-known *Sammlung Göschen* is an excellent *résumé* of the comparative grammar of the Germanic dialects, and as such a capital introduction to this important branch of philology. In view of the lack of a similar work in English it was well worth while to produce the present translation. English students of the history of their own tongue will find it specially

[1] A selection of the plays of Meisl and Bäuerle is now being made accessible in the cheap *Deutsch-Österreichische Klassiker-Bibliothek*, edited by O. Rommel (Vienna, Prochaska).

useful, and will doubtless be correspondingly grateful to the translator and the publisher.

Why does Dr Jones claim on the title-page to have 'edited' the original? So far as my examination goes (I admit it has not been quite exhaustive), there are no signs of anything but very literal translation, even in cases where some adaptation might, from the point of view of the English reader, have been desirable.

The rendering of the German is usually faithful, and, so far as the sense is concerned, correct. The style is however curiously un-English, and I imagine will prove somewhat deterrent to the English reader. This arises mainly because the translator adheres very closely to German phrase-order which often differs from English much like the word-order and indicates logical interdependence in a way which cannot well be imitated in English. An example is the following (p. 15): 'Thus on the model of inchoatives, such as Goth. "þaursnan" (become dry)=O.N. "þorna" from Goth. "þairsan" (wither) and O.N. "þerra" respectively, because the word could be connected with the Goth. "þaursus" (dry) and O.N. "þurr," the Goth. "fullnan" (become full) = O.N. "follna" were formed from Goth. "fulls" and O.N. "fullr" respectively.' The original is quite clear because the order of the phrases is natural in German. The translation cannot be understood without a good deal of reflection, because the order is unnatural in English. The truth of this will be apparent, I think, if we rearrange the above sentence, as follows: 'Thus Goth. "fullnan" (become full, = O.N. "follna") was formed from Goth. "fulls" (adj., = O.N. "fullr") on the model of inchoatives such as Goth. "þaursnan" (become dry, = O.N. "þorna") from Goth. "þairsan" (wither, = O.N. "þerra"), because "þaursnan" could be connected with "þaursus" (adj., dry = O.N. "þurr").'

I have noticed only one actual mistranslation. On p. 4: 'If the meaning does not undergo a change along with the sound-form' is intended to represent 'Wirkt bei Veränderung der Lautform die Bedeutung nicht mit' (i.e. 'If the change in sound-form is not influenced by the meaning').

R. A. Williams.

Dublin.

Griechische Literaturgeschichte. Von W. von Christ. In Verbindung mit Otto Stählin, herausgegeben von Wilhelm Schmid. I. Teil: Die klassische Periode. 6. Aufl. II. Teil, 1. Hälfte: Die nachklassische Periode. 5. Aufl. Munich: C. H. Beck, 1911–12. 8vo. xiv + 771, 506 pp.

Homer in der Neuzeit von Dante bis Goethe. Italien, Frankreich, England, Deutschland. Von G. Finsler. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1912. 8vo. xiv + 530 pp.

Eine genaue Untersuchung des Einflusses der griechischen Literatur auf die Dichtung der modernen Völker wird immer notwendiger, je

mehr sich die vergleichende Literaturgeschichte aus dem Bereiche oberflächlicher Beziehungen und öder Parallelenjagd in die ernste Zerlegung und Wiedererzeugung künstlerischer Gewebe und in die vorsichtige Herstellung ursächlicher Zusammenhänge hinübergerettet hat. Schritt für Schritt wird uns die Bedeutung griechischen Denkens und Gefühlslebens, griechischer Formen und Kunsttheorien auf die neuere Literatur deutlicher, Schritt für Schritt aber wird auch die Aufgabe schwieriger, nicht bloss das Was, sondern das Wie und das Warum der Aufnahme, der Entlehnung, der Bearbeitung griechischer Motive festzustellen; wir haben eben nicht bloss die Psyche des modernen Dichters oder der Kulturnation zu prüfen, die das antike Gut übernimmt, sondern auch den vollen Stimmungsgehalt, ja die Nuance festzustellen, die das Alte bei seinem Eintritt in die neue Welt mitbrachte, die durch alle möglichen Weiterbildungen und Verbildungen hindurch immer wieder zum Vorschein kam, oder doch von begabteren Individuen immer wieder geahnt und zur Erörterung gestellt wurde. Tatsächlich ist die heutige, klassische Philologie keine Enkeltochter der alexandrinischen Gelehrsamkeit, sondern die rechte Ausgeburt der klassizistischen Literatur. Im Kampf gegen allerlei Schrullen und Vorurteile hat der menschliche Intellekt sich zu einer voraussetzungsloseren Auffassung des Griechentums durchgerungen; aber wir brauchen nur Namen wie Scaliger, Heinsius und Vossius, wie Dacier, Johnson und Lessing zu nennen, um uns die engen Verbindungen zwischen Dichtung, Kunsttheorie und Philologie vor Augen zu halten.

So ist es denn recht und billig, dass uns die klassische Philologie bei der Erforschung jener literaturgeschichtlichen Zusammenhänge die Hand reicht, sei es durch die Zufuhr bibliographischen und historischen Materials, sei es durch Einzeluntersuchungen. Was das erstere anlangt, so begrüssen wir in Christs wohlbekannter Literaturgeschichte, deren Bearbeitung sich der Tübinger Philologe Schmid mit seinem Würzburger Kollegen Stählin zusammen unterzogen hat, ein ausgezeichnetes Orientierungsmittel, das auch der Neuphilologe dankbar und nie ohne reiche Förderung benutzen wird. Es orientiert uns über den heutigen Stand der Wissenschaft, über die Geschichte und die letzten Lösungsversuche schwieriger Fragen (z. B. über die homerischen Gedichte und über die Entstehung der Tragödie) und gibt uns reichhaltige und genaue bibliographische Angaben über die wichtigsten Editionen und Forschungen der letzten Jahrhunderte. Darüber hinaus aber führen einige Paragraphen, die uns über die Fortwirkung hervorragender, griechischer Dichter auf die Literatur der modernen Völker knapp und doch förderlich unterrichten (z. B. §§ 45, 46, Homer; § 138, Pindar; § 236, Aristophanes; § 368, Aristoteles). Wir wünschen und hoffen, dass diese Abschnitte bei künftigen weiteren Auflagen des ausgezeichneten Werkes noch ausgebaut und vervollständigt werden. Mögen sie dann die Forschung neu befruchten und auch für andere griechische Dichter und Philosophen so vollendete Darstellungen ihrer Nachwirkung hervorrufen, wie sie uns Georg Finsler für Homer geschenkt hat.

Finsler hat uns in seinem *Homer*[1] bereits eine kleine Encyklopädie der Homerforschung beschert und alles wichtige für das Verständnis der *Ilias* und der *Odyssee* an die Hand gegeben. Die 'Vollständigkeit' seiner Erklärung aber, die Fülle der Gesichtspunkte, unter denen er dort seinen Gegenstand betrachtete, verdankte er gewiss nicht zum kleinsten Teile seiner geradezu bewunderungswürdigen Belesenheit in der Homerischen Literatur der europäischen Völker; indem er nun mit philologischer Umsicht die Arbeit der Übersetzer, Erklärer und Kritiker aus ihrer Zeit heraus zu verstehen und danach zu würdigen suchte, erwuchs ihm unter den Händen das Material seines jüngsten Werkes: *Homer in der Neuzeit*—keine Bibliographie, keine Aufzählung aller Erwähnungen Homers, sondern 'eine Geschichte Homers in den neueren Zeiten bis auf Goethe,' oder, wenn man will, eine Kulturgeschichte der Neuzeit unter dem Gesichtspunkte Homers. Damit ist nicht zu viel gesagt; denn Finsler greift wirklich überall auf die Grundlagen der nationalen Kulturen und auf den Austausch der Völker zurück, zieht das Glaubensleben und die philosophischen Strömungen, die geschichtliche Gelehrsamkeit und ästhetische Spekulation, die literarische Kritik und den jeweiligen Stand der einheimischen Poesie heran, um die Stellungnahme der Generationen und der Individuen zu Homer zu erklären. Dass diese Darstellung nicht ins Uferlose verläuft, sondern durchweg lesbar, ja fesselnd bleibt, dass auch Licht und Schatten im ganzen durchaus richtig verteilt sind, verdankt Finsler seiner erstaunlichen Herrschaft über den riesigen Stoff und seinem feinen, poetischen Gefühl. Mit der Schmiegsamkeit, mit der er sich in einer früheren Arbeit in die höchst verwickelten Gedankengänge der *Orestie* des Aischylos hineinfand (Berner Programm, 1890), legt er hier die Verdienste der Madame Dacier, Popes und Vossens um die Verdolmetschung Homers dar, weiss aber auch den Homerischen Elementen im *Lutrin* und im *Rape of the Lock*, in *Hermann und Dorothea*, wie in der *Nausikaa* gerecht zu werden und darüber hinaus die Dichtungen als ganzes mit wenigen, scharfen Strichen zu charakterisieren und zu bewerten. Diese Kunst, in knapper Form aus einem Schriftsteller das wichtigste herauszuholen, kommt am meisten Finslers Abschnitten über die Kritik zu gute, seiner Darstellung der Homerischen Frage oder den Auszügen aus Le Bossu und Dubos. Der unbestechliche Forscher, der so scharf mit den Klassizisten abrechnet und die Verdienste der englischen Romantik um Homer so beredt zu würdigen weiss, macht vor Lessings *Laokoon* nicht halt und zerpflückt ihm unbarmherzig seine Beispiele für die angeblich 'successive' Schilderung des 'coexistierenden' in der *Ilias*. Dabei scheint uns freilich der *Laokoon* von den andern Schriften Lessings zu sehr bevorzugt und wir hätten gern Genaueres über seine Auseinandersetzungen mit dem Grafen Caylus gelesen, während wir nun mit einem kurzen Hinweis auf Lessing mitten in dem Kapitel 'Frankreich und die Niederlande' abgespeist werden. Aber das hängt mit Finslers Einteilungsprinzip zusammen. Er geht nicht nach Generationen vor,

[1] Leipzig, B. G. Teubner, 1908. Eine neue Auflage ist in Vorbereitung.

sondern behandelt die Homerischen Bemühungen der einzelnen Länder in geschlossenen Kapiteln; freilich ist dabei eine gewisse chronologische Reihenfolge eingehalten; die Nationen marschieren in der Ordnung auf, wie sie nach einander die Führung in der Literatur gehabt haben: Italien, Frankreich und die Niederlande, England, Deutschland und die Schweiz. Es erübrigt sich zu erwähnen, dass diese Reihenfolge, wie jede andere, ihre grossen Vorzüge hat; immerhin werden dadurch z. B. die Engländer nicht mit der deutschen Sturm- und Drangperiode in die unmittelbare Beziehung gebracht, die vielleicht wünschenswert wäre. Durch Verweisungen sucht Finsler dem Mangel abzuhelfen; dass diese hier und da vermehrt und verstärkt werden, ist unser Wunsch an eine Neuauflage, die das treffliche Buch reichlich verdient. Denn es ist eine durch und durch gediegene, reiche und voll ausgereifte Gabe, mit der sich die klassische Philologie ein dauerndes Verdienst um ihre Schwesterwissenschaften erworben hat.

R. Petsch.

Liverpool.

Le Poète Alexis Tolstoï. Par André Lirondelle. Paris: Hachette. 1912. 8vo. xi + 677 pp.

Readers of Professor Lirondelle's book *Shakespeare en Russie* must have realised that an able and devoted student of Russian literature had arisen and they doubtless looked forward to further studies in the same field and from the same hand. This stately volume on Alexis Tolstoi marks a stage in Western appreciation of Russian literature; in a notable measure, indeed, it redresses the balance. For while Russian critics, like Russian literary artists, have ever occupied themselves with the thought and art of Western Europe, and Russian studies in comparative literature are among the best, there are but few Western critics who have acquainted themselves with Russian literature in the original and still fewer who have published studies of that literature. M. Lirondelle's work on Alexis Tolstoi, let us say at the outset, bears all the marks of that school of contemporary French criticism which devotes itself to one author at a time and which by its thorough analysis, masterly appraisement and distinguished form has won high prestige in the field of foreign literatures. Where such workers have been over the ground there is little left for others to glean.

To the lover of Alexis Tolstoi, of the man and of his work, it is ever a painful reflection that he has not secured the unanimous allegiance of his countrymen, even though his verses are in the mouths of most. M. Lirondelle, who confesses to a strong liking for Tolstoi, makes it his business to account for and to challenge the disfavour with which this poet has been regarded. He is, however, no partisan *à outrance*; he marshals the facts and lets the accused speak for himself. The critic's task is lightened by the great mass of correspondence, published and unpublished, which he has been able to use; for Tolstoi was a most abundant as well as a most delightful letter-writer. In the eyes of

many of his countrymen Alexis Tolstoi was looked upon as a trifler. To be well-born, rich, a valued friend and intimate of the Imperial Family: these were suspicious credentials in the eyes of many; but to be an outspoken castigator of extreme views, whether of his intimate friends or of strangers, of pan-slavism as well as of nihilism, to be an idealist in a materialistic age: these were and still are, facts of a peculiarly damning kind. Russians are constitutionally unreserved in their allegiance to ideals, not excepting Russian materialists, to use a paradox. If a literary man or other public character is not 'sound' in his political convictions he is liable to be attacked; if he is of the non-party type or of the 'candid friend' order, he will, in Russia as elsewhere, be regarded with suspicion. The history of Russian literature during the last century cannot be separated from Russian political history, and in no country has the battle for ideas been more desperately fought and more bitterly personal. But it is not only for his political views that A. Tolstoi has been regarded with disfavour by many of his countrymen. Turgenev was only expressing the views of many other Russians of his time when he called Tolstoi 'cet excellent mais très-ennuyeux écrivain,' and added that his poems 'ne m'entrent pas dans la bouche.' The fact is that Tolstoi from one point of view hardly seemed a Russian. A professed optimist and idealist, he writes, as he himself says, in a 'major' key which seems to have got on the nerves of his contemporaries, accustomed as they were to the note of sadness all round them in nature, in life and in literature. And yet, as M. Lirondelle points out, Tolstoi was a Slav of the Slavs, both in temperament and in the form of his art. Other grievances against Tolstoi, that he was a cosmopolitan, an imitator, that he preached at one and the same time morality in art and 'art for art's sake,' are examined by M. Lirondelle, who shows clearly that in reality Tolstoi had quite definite theories of life and art, and that an understanding of the poet and his work is impossible unless we take the trouble to ascertain his aims and by these judge his methods. Tolstoi never hesitated to make use of what he deemed good in the thought and work of others, but he always thought things out for himself and was one of the most independent of Russian poets.

In the first part of M. Lirondelle's book the poet's life is related and the conditions analysed in which his creative activity developed. It was on the whole a happy life, rich in love and friendship, as befitted a nature so lovable and gifted. Incidentally we learn much of Tolstoi's contemporaries in literature, much also of politics, especially of the great movement for emancipation and its realisation. Alexander II, who valued non-party men, insisted on appointing his old play-fellow a member of various commissions, in spite of the vigorous protest of the latter that he was a poet and quite unfitted for official duties. We learn also how kind and helpful Tolstoi was to Turgenev when the novelist incurred the displeasure of the authorities. In the systematic analysis and criticism of Tolstoi's work which forms the second part of M. Lirondelle's study, he has quoted freely from his author's poems,

giving a literal, unrhythmic and unrhymed version, but observing the verse-lines. The reader who is not acquainted with the original is thus enabled in some measure to follow and test the judgments of the critic. In his investigation of the dramatic art of Tolstoi based on a study of his great trilogy, M. Lirondelle makes an interesting comparison between Tolstoi's dramas and the histories of Shakespeare; at the same time he lays stress on Tolstoi's *penchant* for analysis and development of character rather than for movement and plot. It is to be noted that although Tolstoi puts truthful observation of human nature above truth of facts, yet he is careful of his facts, more careful by a good deal than Victor Hugo, de Vigny or Dumas *père*. He studied indefatigably the ancient annals and faithfully followed Karamzin for events. Yet with his habitual independence he would, when it suited his purpose, make no scruple about disturbing chronology. A seeming romantic, judged by his choice of subjects, he is almost without romanticism if we regard his method. Nevertheless, he varied his method in each play; as he himself says, the architecture of his trilogy was 'Doric at the base, Ionic in the middle and Corinthian at the capital.' Of these three plays (*Death of Ivan, Tsar Fedor,* and *Tsar Boris*), the middle one, the shaft of the column, to use Tolstoi's simile, is by consent of most Russians destined to immortality. It has been acted over two hundred times. The character of Fedor, as M. Lirondelle well says, is 'the incarnation of the highest spiritual side of the Russian race, of its gentleness, loving-kindness, ardent faith, obedience to the heart rather than to the intellect, love of the humble and weak, pardon and forgetfulness of injuries, non-resistance to the powers of evil, heroic self-abnegation, a longing for expiation....These qualities mark also the gospel of Leo Tolstoi and that of Dostoevski. But so far as it is possible to compare a drama with a novel, the hero of A. Tolstoi will be preferred to the hero of Dostoevski (i.e. Myshkin).' In the chapter devoted to Tolstoi's one prose work, *The Silver Prince,* M. Lirondelle points out that with all its faults of ultra-melodrama and psychological shallowness, this historical romance is redeemed by its poetical sincerity. As the critic says, 'le plus grand défaut (du roman) est d'être une œuvre de bonne foi conçue par une âme irrémédiablement candide... l'on est surpris de tout ce que ce roman, de cadre vieillot, contient de matière "vécue" et autobiographique.' This personal vein, so predominant in A. Tolstoi's whole work, strikes us most perhaps in a very characteristic part of his poetry, that which deals with the heroes of Russian history and legend. Here, too, Russian critics find matter of offence. Unlike Pushkin, who is restrained, simple and objective in his treatment of the same themes, Tolstoi, they say, has tampered with the old songs and the *byliny*, and put modern ideas into the heads of the old heroes. But Tolstoi, as he himself tells us, of set purpose embroidered his own pattern on the old canvas, 'en marge des bylines,' if only as a pretext for writing about nature and the joys of spring. Though fond of moralising and teaching, Tolstoi is careful to keep the description and the moralising apart in one and the same poem. In

these national poems, *pace* the critics, the poet is most truly Slav and most truly himself. In them his *élan*, his *bonhomie*, his hearty optimism and his rich, racy humour have full play. Hardly *full* play, perhaps, in the case of his humour; in his letters to friends, written in French as well as in Russian, Tolstoi displays an astonishing flow of wit and humour of an almost Rabelaisian cast, set off by an inexhaustible vocabulary such as we find in no other Russian man of letters. The poet's philosophy of life is set out in his *Don Juan* more fully and more formally perhaps than in any of his other works. Here M. Lirondelle shows us how deeply Tolstoi had studied Schelling; and we meet with a pantheism that goes beyond that of Shelley. For Tolstoi, individuality is something temporary, something acquired, a mere mode of being; after death we return to our 'normal state,' reintegrated in the universal good. M. Lirondelle's analysis of the poet's art and technique is delicate and sympathetic. He exhibits and defends Tolstoi as a self-conscious, self-criticising artist who tries every effect, who while strict in essentials knows where laxity may be better art. Tolstoi was thus a master of rhythm, but licentious in rhyme; another sad offence this to his critics. In justifying his ideas on rhyme the poet draws some ingenious parallels between poets and painters of various schools; 'certaines choses,' he adds, 'doivent être ciselées, certaines autres ont le droit et presque le devoir de ne pas l'être, sous peine de paraître froides.' In conclusion we would say that the full bibliography and the appendices containing some hitherto unpublished work written by the poet, fittingly round off a book which is not only a sympathetic study of Alexis Tolstoi but a valuable contribution to comparative literature.

W. J. Sedgefield.

Manchester.

Handbook of the Modern Greek Vernacular, Grammar Texts, Glossary. By Albert Thumb. Translated from the second revised and enlarged German edition by S. Angus. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark. 1912. 8vo. xxxv + 371 pp.

Professor Thumb's excellent *Handbook* has met with general recognition as giving a scientific and philological account of the Modern Greek language; and this English version of the revised German edition will be welcomed by English scholars. The Modern Greek language offers a peculiarly difficult study, because it is still in a transitional state, and many scholars will not even admit the existence of a modern language, apart from the ancient, except in the form of dialects or patois. It is true that these various modern forms have been carefully studied and recorded. But it is still customary for educated men in modern Greece to write in as severely classical a language as they can command, and even to ridicule the attempts of those who write—some of them with notable success—in a more popular dialect. And moreover the children in Greek schools are not taught the grammar of the vernacular tongue, but a modified adaptation

of ancient grammar. Professor Thumb has done good service not only to foreign students but also to the Greeks themselves in writing this systematic grammar of the actual Greek κοινή which underlies the various local dialects and makes them mutually intelligible. The selection of texts, both popular and literary, is very useful and instructive.

The translator in his preface states that other English works on Modern Greek deal either exclusively or for the most part with the καθαρεύουσα, the learned literary language. He should have excepted the English adaptation, by Mrs E. A. Gardner, of Wied's little grammar, published by Nutt in 1891, especially since Professor Thumb himself regards Wied as 'to be highly commended to the beginner for a rapid introductory sketch of the modern Greek vernacular.' His work is not of course to be compared with Professor Thumb's for completeness or philological accuracy; but it had and still has its use for practical purposes.

E. A. Gardner.

London.

Social France in the Seventeenth Century. By Cécile Hugon. London: Methuen & Co. 1911. 8vo. xx + 321 pp.

There is a great deal that is of interest in this book. Much is outside the scope of the *Modern Language Review*. With that it is unnecessary to deal. Among the most interesting chapters are those on 'The Trials of Housekeeping' and 'The Problem of the Poor.' It is a pity, however, that Miss Hugon has, in the former, dealt almost exclusively with the domestic life of the rich and noble, drawing for the most part on Madame de Sévigné's letters. The daily life of the middle classes is far less known and would have offered a greater interest. The chapter on 'The Problem of the Poor' suffers from the reluctance of the author to consult original authorities. She rightly goes to the 'Relations' of the Missioners of Saint Vincent de Paul for much of her matter, but she takes it at second-hand from M. Feillet, M. Bourgeaud and M. Chantelauze. For the rest of her material in this chapter M. Babeau is laid under contribution. But the section is interesting and hitherto scattered information is brought together[1]. The chapters on Religion, though not original, are adequate and sufficiently illuminative.

The literary portion is by far the weakest. The author gives no references to authorities, except a very meagre bibliography at the end of the volume. Frequently we are not even told from whom the illustrative extracts are taken, e.g., the quotation on dinner-party étiquette (pp. 148—150), or the description of the châtelaine (pp. 215—16). The bibliography calls for comment. The author has not consulted sufficient of the sources available, and those she has consulted are too often quoted at second-hand. The list of 'derived authorities' is too long.

[1] M. Calvet's most interesting *Saint Vincent de Paul* (Textes choisis et commentés) in M. M. Plon's *Bibliothèque Française* was not yet published when Miss Hugon's work appeared.

Why is Poisson quoted (pp. 220—21) from Vaissière's *Gentilhommes Campagnards de l'Ancienne France*? His works are easily accessible (e.g. in Ribou's edition of 1679). Again 'Le Cousinage' seems to be cited at second-hand (pp. 216—17). Otherwise Miss Hugon could not call it a 'comedy.' 'Les Exercices de ce temps' are readily available in Blanchemain's edition of Courval-Sonnet (although they are possibly not by him). In the first line of the quotation at the foot of p. 216 'poussière' will not scan. The correct reading is 'poudre.' 'Tasche par tout moyens' in the quotation on p. 217 is obviously wrong. The quotation from Mademoiselle de Montpensier (pp. 45—6) suggests that the original should have been consulted (e.g. in the eighth volume of Wetstein and Smith's Amsterdam edition of her *Mémoires*, 1735). There are several omissions besides those indicated. For the chapter on 'Paris City' the author has apparently drawn on the 'Traduction d'une lettre Italienne, écrite par un Sicilien à un de ses amis, contenant une critique agréable de Paris,' given by Cottolendi in his *Saint-Evremoniana*, but she has not given the reference. The sparing use made of this interesting document confirms a suspicion that the original has not been consulted (e.g. in the 1710 Rouen edition of the *Saint-Evremoniana*). Use might have been made of M. Émile Magne's 'Corneille, évocateur de Paris' (*Mercure de France*, 15 Juin 1906).

A very bad mistake occurs in the chapter on 'Culture in the Seventeenth Century' (p. 249). Miss Hugon refers to 'the theatre of the "Petit Bourbon," the scene of Molière's latter triumphs and that most closely associated with him.' Any recognized book of reference would have told her that the 'Petit Bourbon' was used by Molière only from 1658 till 1660 when it was demolished. 'The scene of Molière's latter triumphs' was the Palais Royal. The 'Illustre Théâtre' was not opened in 1647, as Miss Hugon asserts. Moreover, it was not a theatre but a troupe. It was constituted in 1643 and acted in three 'Jeux de Paume' successively from 1644 till the end of 1645 or the beginning of 1646. In 1647 Molière was at Toulouse, Albi and Carcassonne. It is difficult to understand why Miss Hugon chooses 1615 as the date when the Hôtel de Bourgogne began to attract attention. It was only from 1628 onwards that a regular troupe of professional actors was definitely established there, although Valleran's first appearance there and the renunciation of their exclusive privilege by the Confrérie de la Passion date from 1599, and Valleran's troupe was in possession from 1600 to 1604 and from 1606 to 1622, and Hardy's plays had attracted attention before 1615.

The statement (p. 252) that 'noblemen who hardly wrote' were admitted to the Academy is an exaggeration. Pellisson's list of the Academicians elected till 1652 does not bear this out. The list contains very few, if any, of this class. But most of the notable writers of the time were Academicians. After all, d'Arbaud de Porchères, Chapelain, Conrart, Colletet, Baro, de Boisrobert, Faret, Godeau, de Gombauld, de Gomberville, de Malleville, Desmarests, Maynard, de la Mothe le Vayer, de Racan, du Ryer, Saint-Amant, Scudéry, Tallemant,

Tristan l'Hermite, de Vaugelas, Voiture form a galaxy of talent and are writers of importance and of merit even if they do not rank with Corneille or with de Balzac! Very few of the Academicians of the first half of the seventeenth century were great noblemen. It is true that, later on, the reproach is better merited, but more in the eighteenth than in the seventeenth century.

It is absurd to say that Godeau was 'a good man whose greatest fault was a passion for versifying' (p. 254). Corneille thought three verses of his worthy of incorporation in *Polyeucte*. Godeau wrote too much, no doubt, but he was a true poet and one of the very few French religious poets who count. Even Boileau admitted that Godeau was 'un poète fort estimable.' Godeau was also an excellent critic. In 1630 he appreciated Malherbe justly and without extravagance—in this outweighing Boileau.

Miss Hugon shows, indeed, a regrettable lack of familiarity with the minor, but not negligible writers of the seventeenth century. A social formation is perhaps better expressed in its minor writers, who are wholly of it, than by its greater lights who are more than half, at least, of all time. The only minor poets, for example, mentioned in this chapter besides Godeau, are (p. 257) Voiture, Chapelain and Racan. Benserade is given a passing mention elsewhere (p. 38). But Maynard, Théophile, Tristan l'Hermite, Saint-Amant, de Gombauld, Sarrasin, de Brébeuf, Le Moyne, Desmarests, de Malleville, de Montreuil, etc. are not mentioned at all. Segrais is not mentioned as a poet. Minor prose writers and dramatists are equally neglected.

T. B. Rudmose-Brown.

Dublin.

MINOR NOTICES.

There has certainly been no lack within recent years of short books on the history of the English Language. Dr Lindelöf's *Grundzüge der Geschichte der Englischen Sprache* (B. G. Teubner, Leipzig) is one of the shortest and most summary of these. There is of course no room for new theories in a book of this kind, and in general plan it follows the usual lines of such works. Its chief merit is perhaps that the author is careful to indicate how many problems are still unsolved in the history of our language and to avoid a tendency to dogmatism which is only too often found in the authors of elementary text-books, conscious of the limitations of their readers, but forgetful how important it is to develop a critical attitude from the first. The chief weakness of the book is the attempt to crowd too much detail into the very few pages which the author has allowed himself. Fuller discussion and exposition of more general points would have been of greater value to the student at this stage in his development, and would have saved him from the familiar difficulty of not being able to see the wood for the trees. The book would also have been improved by devotion of a greater

proportion of space to Modern in contrast to Old and Middle English developments. Writers on the history of our language are still slow in giving full recognition to the fact that in sound if not in writing our language has been completely transformed since the close of the sixteenth century.

A. M.

It is with feelings of mingled pleasure and regret that we call attention to two works of Dr Otto Jespersen, viz. his *Elementarbuch der Phonetik* (Teubner, Leipzig) and his *Engelsk Fonetik* (Gyldendalske Boghandel, Copenhagen): pleasure, that Professor Jespersen is continuing his good work in promoting the study of phonetics and of modern languages on phonetic principles; regret, because they remind us how much we are missing in England through having no translation of any of his work on phonetics. The *Elementarbuch* is a shortened form of his well-known *Lehrbuch der Phonetik*, and gives us a systematic and comprehensive study of the sound-relations of the three chief vernaculars of modern Europe. The whole work is a model of clearness and conciseness of presentation, and should be in the hands of every student and teacher of modern languages who desires to study their phonology in a form which is scientific but not overburdened with technicalities. *Engelsk Fonetik* is a study of English phonetics on the same lines as those of Professor Jespersen's study of Danish in his very popular *Modersmâlets Fonetik*. It has been compiled from his larger works by Mr Helwig-Möller under Dr Jespersen's direction. Intended primarily for the use of Danish teachers and students of English, it is at the same time full of interest for all who are interested in the phonetic study of English speech.

A. M.

We doubt whether even the best among the numerous versions of Petrarch's lyrics have ever afforded much enjoyment to their readers; but there can be no question that translations of his Latin works serve a useful purpose. Students of modern literature are unfortunately not always acquainted with Latin; and it is impossible to understand Petrarch the man and humanist without a knowledge of his Latin works. His earliest moral treatise, the *De Contemptu Mundi*, has at length been rendered into English by William H. Draper (*Petrarch's Secret*, London, Chatto and Windus, 1911); and the translation may be accounted a distinct success (in spite of occasional lapses, such as: 'I wonder what is your meaning. Do you mind being more explicit?'). Above all it is accurate. The introduction, too, is well worth reading. Sincerity was scarcely Petrarch's strong point; at any rate, it is difficult to believe that he was as sincere in this particular work as he would have us believe and as the sub-title, *Secretum Meum*, would seem to suggest. And yet these three dialogues are invaluable to every student of the great man's life and character; while they illustrate various phases and illuminate many a curious corner of medieval thought.

H. O.

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

March—May, 1913.

GENERAL.

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Hudson, W. H., An Introduction to the Study of Literature. 2nd ed., enlarged. London, Harrap. 4*s.* 6*d.* net.

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Raynaud, G., Mélanges de philologie romane. Paris, H. Champion. 10 fr.

Salow, K., Sprachgeographische Untersuchungen über den östlichen Teil des katalanisch-languedokischen Grenzgebietes. (Mitteilungen und Abhandlung des Hamburger Seminars für romanische Sprache und Kultur, I.) Hamburg, Gräfe und Sillem. 20 M.

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Benelli, S., Giovanni Pascoli. Ancona, G. Puccini. 2 L.

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French.

(*a*) *General* (*incl. Linguistic*).

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(*b*) *Old French.*

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(*c*) *Modern French.*

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(*b*) *Modern English.*

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(*a*) *General (incl. Linguistic).*

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(*b*) *Old and Middle High German.*

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